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The Shape of Things

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TO MR. ROOSEVELT, AT THE INAUGURATION of his second term of office, we extend our best wishes for the four years to come. By the time this appears the inaugural ceremonies will be over. The pomp and parade will be a matter of yesterday's newspapers; the captains of politics and the kings of industry will have dispersed. What will stand is the American nation itself—the men and women throughout the country who will not be content with phrases but want raised living standards as the framework for a genuine American culture. The President's first inaugural address was a response to the emergency needs of the 1933 panic. His second inaugural has a similar chance to go down in history as a response to the more permanent needs of a democracy that has a genuine economic base. Whether Mr. Roosevelt has taken that chance or muffed it will be clear by the time this is printed.

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AS WE GO TO PRESS GOVERNOR MURPHY IS in Washington, seeking to salvage the truce between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers which broke down when the Flint Alliance injected itself into the picture. The issue lies between two hardheaded men, Alfred Sloan, Jr., and John L. Lewis. Governor Murphy hopes to make their minds meet, with the help of government officials. Meanwhile in Flint the alliance protests its innocence, while George Boysen intones that "we want our jobs back" and talks of plebiscites. He also says he will not press his demand for collective bargaining—which is helpful, if true.

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WE HAVE HAD LABOR SPIES, COMPANY unions, professional strong-arm men, and amateur vigilantes in the long war against legitimate organization and genuine collective bargaining. The Flint Alliance is a combination of all four. With the help of paid publicity men and reporters whose newspapers have faith in General Motors, the alliance has had a good press. Its claims have been difficult to check, partly because the present skirmish is, for the union, an organization drive—if it wins a favorable settlement, it will undoubtedly be found to represent a large majority—and partly because the union has even encouraged workers to join the alliance if they were threatened with the loss of a job for failure to join. It was hardly accidental that this ungainly

creature, with George Boysen at its head, put itself forward as a bona fide union and demanded a conference with General Motors just after the company, in a surprising burst of good-will, had consented to negotiate with the United Automobile Workers on the crucial issues, including the question whether the U. A. W. should be the sole bargaining agency. The alacrity with which Mr. Knudsen acceded to the "demand" confirms the suspicion that the Flint Alliance is the latest model in strike-breaking devices. The automobile workers promptly decided to sit tight, both inside and outside the factories, until Mr. Boysen's wooden donkey was retired.

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THE MORGAN-LILIENTHAL FEUD HAS AGAIN flared up violently. It is unfortunate that a matter of far-reaching national policy should come down to a clash of two personalities, and be widely played up as such. The real issue is not Mr. Morgan as against Mr. Lilienthal. It is the issue of whether the power companies may be trusted to reform themselves overnight, or whether the government should make assurance doubly sure by continuing to push a vigorous TVA policy. Mr. Morgan is a man of unquestioned idealism and integrity—but unrealistic. His plea for a truce with the power companies comes up against some stubborn facts. If sweet and reasonable conduct may be expected from the power companies, why have they not taken the very simple step of registering with the Securities and Exchange Commission under the Public Utility Holding Company Act? Such action, without any surrender of constitutional right, would seem a slight concession for them to make compared with what Mr. Morgan expects of them. If sweet and reasonable conduct may be expected of them, why have nineteen utilities tied up the entire TVA program by suits and injunctions in the federal courts—a course of action which stirred the wrath of Senator Norris and gave the President occasion to discontinue the negotiations for a power pool. His appointment of a committee of five, headed by Mr. Ickes, to draft a general federal power policy cannot smooth out the matter without meeting the basic issue. It must not be allowed to result in a shake-up that will affect the essential structure of the TVA.

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REPORTS OF THE BACK-STAGE MANEUVERING in Washington which accompanied the practically unanimous passage of the resolution barring shipments to Spain reflect little credit on anyone except John Toussaint Bernard, Farmer-Labor Representative from Minnesota, who cast the lone vote against the proposal. Members of the liberal bloc in Congress are known to have been present at an informal gathering in which the full implications of the unneutral stand against Spain were explored. Most of them must have realized that they were being asked to support a bill which could only react to the advantage of world fascism. But in common with everyone in Washington they expected that the resolution would at least apply to Germany, Italy, and Portugal,

as well as Spain, on the ground that those countries are constantly shipping war material to Franco. At the last moment the resolution appears to have been changed and rushed through Congress before an effective opposition could be organized. Now, somewhat belatedly, a bill is being introduced by Congressman Maverick to extend the embargo to Germany and Italy. True neutrality would compel the support of this measure, even though it is not likely to have any practical effect. But something further is needed if the United States is not repeatedly to be aligned on the side of anti-democratic forces. It would be desirable, for example, to amend the neutrality act so as to make it illegal for American citizens to aid any group which is in revolt against a government that has been duly elected by democratic processes.

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JOHN (SNOOPER) SUMNER, WHO JUDGES A book by the number of four-letter words it contains, has haled the Vanguard Press into court for publishing James T. Farrell's latest book, "A World I Never Made." According to this connoisseur of obscenity, who has devoted the best years of his life to what he considers the worst words in the language, the book contains seventy-five indecent passages. This must be the largest addition in some time to Mr. Sumner's private library of "dirty" passages, which is said to be the best collection to be found outside any slum in any large city. Mr. Farrell's defense, if he needed one, is contained in the very title of his book: the world he reports too faithfully for Mr. Sumner is "a world he never made." Unlike Mr. Sumner he thinks it is better to allow a fresh wind to blow through it than to attempt to hide its existence. We need hardly say that Mr. Farrell's book is a serious and excellent piece of literature. We have no doubt that he and his publisher will be acquitted. If they are not it will mean, as Mr. Farrell says, that every honest author will have to write with one eye on the censor.

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HARVARD LAW SCHOOL HAS A NEW DEAN—James M. Landis, at present chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Following in the tradition of Langdell and Ames and Pound, Mr. Landis marks a new trend in legal education at Harvard. Judging from his past interests, his emphasis will be on legislation and public law rather than on the common law and legal philosophy. Mr. Landis is young, vigorous, driving, and will bring energy to his post. It is an open secret that the appointment has given President Conant a good deal of trouble since last September, when Dean Pound announced his resignation. At that time the suggestion of Landis as dean would have aroused the opposition of the financial groups and of the conservative leaders of the bar. But since then Mr. Landis has convinced these interests that he is not their enemy. For Landis's career as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, however vernal may have been the hopes with which American progressives greeted it, faded out on an autumnal dying note. His stress turned increasingly to

self-control by Wall Street rather than governmental control of Wall Street. President Roosevelt would do well to appoint as his successor to the chairmanship of the commission William O. Douglas, who has shown firmness and realism in his conduct of hearings. If Douglas gets the chairmanship, we shall keep our fingers crossed and pray that he will retain those qualities.

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IT IS NOT ON THE FLOOR OF CONGRESS BUT in the committee rooms that most of the real work is done. Of ten assignments to major committees which the eight Progressives and five Farmer-Laborites of the new House claimed were their due as a minority bloc, the Democratic caucus has given them three, and in two cases has deliberately outranked senior Progressives by first-term Democrats. It is apparent that the Progressives will continue to be crowded out of committees by the Democrats and Republicans unless they organize as a recognized minority bloc. By so doing they would make their committee posts dependent on their ratio to the rest of the House and not on the whim of the major-party whips, they would gain the outright adherence of independents who still belong to the other two parties, and they would give a strong stimulus to the movement for a new national progressive party.

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FOLLOWING THE MURDER OF MRS. CASE AND the Mattson kidnapping has come a wave of public hysteria. Both in Tacoma and New York lynching sentiment has been voiced which can do nothing but harm. As indicated by the excellent police work and the promise of a fair trial in the New York case, the law is quite able to handle all phases of both these crimes without being spurred on by aroused public indignation. Such hysteria can only aid lawlessness, not justice. Experience has shown that public excitement and banner headlines in connection with such crimes often lead to many similar crimes in close sequence. Another unhappy result is the dismissal of several hundred Negroes from their jobs in New York due to a spurt in racial prejudice—one of the most irrational and dangerous elements in whatever fascist mentality America may be preparing. Thirdly, comes the proposal from Alderman Newbold Morris to require finger-printing of all hotel and apartment-house employees. Although the murder offers a sympathetic excuse, finger-printing of workers is too dangerous a precedent to be established. Finally, as happens always after widely publicized crimes, we find throughout the country a revival of attacks on the parole system.

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THERE IS BOUND TO BE A LOT OF FUN IN reshuffling government agencies into new patterns and departments. We count on that, more than on anything else, to stand the President in good stead in his effort to get the Brownlow report on government reorganization adopted by Congress. Everybody loves a brand-new Cabinet officer, and everybody will have fun—except

those that get lost in the reshuffle. How many people that will include is hard to say, but our bet is there will be less squawking than was anticipated. Our own pleasure at the President's move has only a few qualifications. We hate to see such an agency as the National Labor Relations Board get absorbed by one of the departments. We regret that the President did not see fit to shuffle army, navy, and air force together and create a new Department of National Defense. And we fear that people will think the new set-up is better than the previous one merely because it is neater and newer.

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J. R. McCARL, WHOSE ADMINISTRATION OF the office of Comptroller General was ripped up the back by President Roosevelt's committee on reorganization, has issued a reply full of righteous indignation and dire warnings. His career is worth a brief review. Appointed by President Harding, McCarl, with his stiff-collared respectability and pin-point economies, sounded a lonely note in that rollicking and spendthrift Administration. But he lasted for fifteen years, a model of thrift to the conservative press, but just an Old Scrooge to the New Deal. The luxuriant ship-mail subsidies, based upon special speed-test runs that were never duplicated in actual performance, brought from him two small squeaks of protest, after which he paid these millions without complaint for years. To offset the cost, he reduced the size of government carbon paper by half an inch. He showed his hostility to the Department of Labor by requiring Secretary Perkins to travel in an ordinary sleeper instead of a compartment, and his incessant mosquito-prickings at the traveling expenses of other officials was a constant source of irritation. He arrogated to himself an unconstitutional executive power in overruling the inherent right of government departments to appoint subordinate officials by the simple expedient of refusing to pay the expenses of such officials. Portly and sleek, exuding the odor of gentility and fashion, he was at heart a small-time clerk on a high stool, plugging away at little figures in a big ledger.

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IN THREE CROWDED, FACT-FILLED DAYS LAST week the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee showed: how the House of Morgan induced the Guaranty Trust Company of New York to sell \$30,000,000 of unsecured Van Sweringen Corporation notes to the public; how the prospectus failed to reveal a \$25,000,000 write-up in assets made immediately before the public sale; how the Guaranty Trust sold the notes to the public after its vice-president admitted the corporation's probable insolvency; and, finally, how Thomas W. Lamont and George Whitney of J. P. Morgan and Company sat on Guaranty's executive committee, approved the deal, and allowed the notes to be sold to the public but would not let their own bank take "even a silent interest" in the notes. From these revelations the Wheeler committee moved into the wings of the New York Stock Exchange, exposed seventeen governors of the Big Board as recipi-

ents from Morgan and Guaranty of a \$7,405,000 share in underwriting Alleghany at a time when the same governors were about to pass on Alleghany's listing application. More than \$21,000,000 of the note-holders' money went into Alleghany speculation, although William C. Potter, Guaranty's president, sold out his Alleghany holdings. Loss to note-holders, \$15,000,000; allowance for Wheeler investigation, \$100,000. The Wheeler committee has had to spread its stint thin over seventeen months and now depends upon public support to get more money for its investigation from the Senate tories.

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READERS OF ALDOUS HUXLEY WILL RECALL that in his novel "Brave New World" the talkies had been further elaborated into the "smellies" and the "feelies." As a matter of fact the latter are almost here. One has only to visit the Museum of Science and Industry at Rockefeller Center, where several daily demonstrations are being given of a new process for producing three-dimensional moving pictures in color. Many attempts have been made in the past to present animated stereographs upon a screen, but most of them have been based upon complicated mechanical contrivances. The new system, like its predecessors, projects overlapping or successive images taken from two viewpoints as far apart as the eyes normally are. But it projects each image by light polarized at right angles to the polarized light of the other and gives the audience spectacles each lens of which passes only light polarized in one plane. It is made possible by the recent invention of a cheap polarizing substance and has, among other advantages, that of permitting the use of pictures in full natural color, as produced by the Kodachrome or Technicolor processes. The effect is startling. Aside from the somewhat greater expense involved in production, there seem to be no great impediment to theatrical exploitation except the possible difficulty of persuading members of an audience that it is worth their while to wear queer spectacles when they go to the movies.

The Fascist Front Holds

THE events of the past few weeks clearly indicate that what we have in Spain is not so much a civil war as a definite invasion of Spanish territory by Italian and German troops. Unquestionably it started as a civil war last July when the army, supported by a few fascist groups, attempted to seize power and oust the republican government. In the early days foreign interference was at a minimum. The rebels purchased supplies from Germany and Italy; the government was dependent mostly on France for its war materials. Then came the non-intervention pact, which temporarily cut off the supplies flowing to the government but did not lessen the aid rendered the rebels by the fascist powers. It was in this period that Talavera and Toledo were captured and Madrid first besieged. The period ended when the Soviet

Union served notice that it would consider itself free to furnish supplies to the government to counterbalance the fascist aid to the rebels.

By this time the rebels had practically used up the available supply of Moors and would have collapsed for lack of man-power if Germany and Italy had not come openly to their support. The Burgos junta was recognized and a fascist front formed including Germany, Italy, Japan, and the Franco clique in Spain. A few thousand Germans and Italian soldiers were dispatched tentatively, ready to be withdrawn in case of too vigorous opposition from France or England. After some weeks Great Britain protested, but almost immediately nullified its protest by a step that must have proved utterly incomprehensible to the fascist leaders. It forbade British citizens to enlist on the side of the Spanish government. It is true that Germany had used the presence of the international volunteers as an argument for continuing to send men to assist Franco. But both legally and morally the volunteers are in a very different category. They enlisted not as citizens of their respective countries but as individuals, in what they conceived to be a worldwide struggle against reaction. And they placed themselves under the discipline of the legitimate government of Spain.

The German and Italian soldiers, on the other hand, are being dispatched as part of the German and Italian armies. If Franco wins, they will have to remain as an army of occupation in order to preserve his power against an enraged population. Last week's agreement between Göring and Mussolini to push the war to the utmost may be taken as a contemptuous reply to the British and French ban on volunteers. It has remained for the Soviet Union to point out the folly and hypocrisy of this unilateral ban. But when it comes to a showdown, the Soviets are helpless if they are unable to gain support from France or England. There can be no individual Soviet volunteers, and the dispatch of Soviet troops to Spain would invite a general European war.

At no time since the beginning of hostilities in July has there been such serious danger that the democratic countries would deliver Spain, lock, stock, and barrel, to the fascist leaders. France's conciliatory attitude toward Berlin is particularly ominous at this point. On several occasions, such as the recent crisis over Morocco, it has appeared as if France and England had awakened to the menace which threatened their national interests. But each time they have stopped short of bringing the pressure which alone could suppress fascist ambitions. If anyone thought that the fascist lust for power would become satiated by victory in Spain, the patience of the democratic countries might at least be understandable. But fascist audacity thrives on success. Mussolini's insistence that Germany and Italy must be content with preserving the status quo in Spain sounded conciliatory, but it may be interpreted merely as a face-saving device if success should not be forthcoming. What is happening in Spain today will almost certainly happen in Czechoslovakia tomorrow. By that time any effort to stop fascism will certainly mean war, but a war in which the fascist countries will hold all the advantages.

A Program for the Judicial Power

WHY Change Is Needed. After two years of constitutional crisis, there seems finally to be some chance of action on the Constitution and the Supreme Court. This is evidenced by the President's message to Congress, the avalanche of bills that the more militant Congressmen are preparing for introduction, the comments of some of the national legislators which indicated that their attitude was more thoroughgoing than the President's own, and the formation of various independent groups to push a constitutional amendment, especially the group headed by that doughty warrior Senator George W. Norris. The discussion has at least passed the point where there is any lingering doubt that some sort of change is necessary. Two things have happened to bring this new phase of popular opinion. One is the Supreme Court's own doing: the succession of decisions which have added up to a popular conviction that the power of the Supreme Court to veto national action is the greatest threat to our future. The second is the election, with its clear mandate to Congress and the President to go on with progressive national policies despite every obstruction. The conviction and the mandate are sounder and clearer than any legalistic arguments you are likely to hear.

The Great Debate. When Congress in 1802 considered repealing the Judiciary Act of 1801, it took part in what has gone down in history as "The Great Debate"—on the scope and functions of the judiciary. The debate that is now to be waged within Congress, and outside its halls in the popular press as well, will probably go down in history as another Great Debate, surpassing even the excitement at the time of the famous Dred Scott case. There are four courses of action that will be most hotly debated. One is to wait until a vacancy offers itself in the court, and to fill that vacancy with a liberal appointment, meanwhile patching up in some fashion the legislation that the court vetoes. A second is to regulate the judicial function by statute, either by providing that the appellate jurisdiction of the court shall not extend to certain types of cases, or by providing that the court shall not declare an act of Congress invalid where there is a reasonable doubt—a reasonable doubt being construed as the affirmative vote of one or two justices. A third course of action is for Congress to grant itself the power of repassing an invalidated law by a two-thirds' vote, say, in successive sessions, or else to submit the law—if greater speed is

required—to a plebiscite. A fourth is to put through one or more constitutional amendments, defining clearly the powers of Congress and the states over the regulation of agriculture, labor, and finance.

Mr. Roosevelt and the Odd Man. In his message to Congress Mr. Roosevelt tentatively chose the first of these courses. He took upon himself the task of educating the odd man on the court—whatever judge holds the balance of power. Working on Mr. Dooley's dictum that the Supreme Court follows the election returns—which is doubtful—the President tried to underline for Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts the lesson of the last election. Of the two the

Chief Justice is probably the more hopeful as a case for conversion. But it should be clear to Mr. Roosevelt that the American people did not reelect him so that he might conduct in public the education of either of the justices. The logic of Mr. Roosevelt's position seems to be that there will be time enough later on to talk of amendments and of curbing the judicial power. Meanwhile, he says, let us wait until the court has shown its attitude on the crucial cases now before it, and repass in a modified form whatever legislation it vetoes. This is essentially a policy of watchful waiting and education. Its danger is that it will drag the constitutional crisis out for at least another four years, while the people's conviction of the need for reform is dissipated.

The Confusion of the Progressives. The progressives have never been in greater confusion over an issue since the early days of the NRA. Some of them are cheering Mr. Roosevelt's stand, mistaking his policy of watchful waiting for one of sharp attack on the judicial power. Some of them are terribly puzzled by the conservatives: they see reactionary papers insisting that if there is to be any change, it should be through a constitutional amendment; and they are bewildered by the argument that no clear amendment can be drawn. Most of them are therefore spending their energy fighting each other. Those who favor an immediate curb on the judicial power insist that an amendment is too cumbersome and unsafe, and those who want an amendment insist that to curb the judicial power is either inadequate or too drastic. Thus, while the enemy thunders away at the gates, the defenders spend their ammunition on one another.

What Then Must Be Done? The first thing to bear in mind is that we are not dealing with individual justices

OUR CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRAM

1. Do not count on converting individual judges. Face the problem of the judicial power as a whole.
2. Act now to allow Congress by a two-thirds' vote in successive sessions to override the judicial veto.
3. Act now to set in motion a constitutional amendment giving Congress clear power over the regulation of agriculture, labor, and finance, and giving the states power over wages and hours.
4. Select an advisory board of constitutional experts to draft possible amendments.

but with the whole institution of the judicial power. It is not enough, in order to meet the threat of this power, that we should wait for possible changes in the court's composition or a change of heart on the part of particular judges. We must also remember that the essential problem is not that of fighting the court, but that of giving Congress the power to deal with the problems it raises. We believe therefore that the proposals whereby Congress would regulate the voting procedure of the court (two-thirds' vote needed for a veto, for example), or remove certain types of cases from the court's appellate jurisdiction, are less desirable than other proposals. We prefer, as an immediate and practicable plan, allowing Congress to override the judicial veto by a two-thirds' vote in successive sessions, or by submitting the question to a plebiscite. But neither of these plans should preclude submitting to the conventions of three-quarters of the states a draft of adequate constitutional amendments.

One final word. The question of fundamentals should be separated from the question of procedures. Sensible men, sitting around a table, can agree on procedures if they are clear on fundamentals. And the fundamentals here can be summed up in one question. Do we believe sufficiently in democracy to grant Congress adequate powers, or do we prefer to trust our fate to a court the majority of whose members, by their background and mode of selection, are bound to be conservative? Do we, in other words, dare to make our way in the future on the resolute legs of the people themselves, or do we prefer to cut them off and hobble along on crutches provided by the Supreme Court?

Brookings to the Rescue

IT HAS been said that the pronouncements of the Brookings Institution on current economic issues have come to occupy a position analogous to those of the Supreme Court on constitutional issues. If this is true, even to a limited extent, it may be accounted for by the scope of the institution's studies and the fact that no other organization has the temerity or the resources to undertake such sweeping asseverations. Its conclusions are another story.

Its latest book* contains a summary, brought up to date, of all that has been previously published, an evaluation of our present economic status, and recommendations for future action. It points out that the current recovery, though less spectacular than certain recovery movements in the past, has already continued a longer period without serious interruption than any other in modern times. But it also points out that the present standards of living are intolerably low. Divided equally among the entire population, the 1936 national income would amount to about \$1,800 per family, but the majority of families—on the basis of the 1929 distribution—probably obtained less than \$1,200. This is about two-fifths of what the

* "The Recovery Problem in the United States." The Brookings Institution. \$4.

institution describes as a "reasonably satisfactory" living standard and even farther from a genuinely liberal one.

In considering the prospects for a continuation of the recovery movement, the institution appears to be primarily concerned with two dangers: (1) an inflation growing out of a continuation of unbalanced budgets; and (2) the possibility that labor may force through a program of shorter hours as a panacea for unemployment. The danger of inflation, as *The Nation* has repeatedly pointed out, is real. But we need not conclude from this, as Brookings does, that there must be a drastic curtailment in expenditures for relief and recovery. As in the institution's previous volumes, the question of redistribution of income and the regularization of the budget by social taxation is carefully avoided, although it is the most obvious method of bringing about the desired adjustments. Instead, a considerable amount of space is given to further discussion of the thirty-hour-week fallacy, though there is no reputable economist who has ever advocated shortening the work week to that extent. No economist would deny that a drastic reduction in working hours would lower the living standards of those now employed. On the other hand, it would be difficult to justify the final conclusion of the Brookings report favoring "the maintenance, in general, of prevailing hours of labor, as the only means of restoring the standards of living of the laboring masses." In many industries, as a result of part-time work, the hours have been much too low, but millions of men and women—in hotels, restaurants, and small retail establishments—still work upwards of fifty hours a week. Several of the manufacturing industries are averaging well over forty hours a week. The Brookings Institution cannot very well support the minority of employers who would like to reestablish the pre-1929 era.

On the positive side, the report emphasizes conditions which, if attainable, would restore a laissez faire economy. It favors stabilization of currencies, reduction in tariffs, abolition of production controls, and a general lowering of prices in line with the development of technological efficiency. Voluntary price reduction in the interest of higher profits is the golden key that is expected to restore capitalist prosperity in the United States. Two excellent examples are cited in defense of this theory—the automobile industry and the railways. In both cases low-price policies have resulted in greatly increased business and higher profits. But it should be noted that the reduction in railway rates was forced on the companies very much against their will, and it might be set down as an iron-clad law that business enterprises will maintain prices as high as possible, irrespective of the theoretical advantages of a contrary policy. The unit profits in the automobile industry and its fight against an effective labor organization which would cut into these profits suggest that it is by no means an exception. History records few examples of oligarchies which voluntarily altered their policies in time to save themselves from destruction. This historical fact is likely to remain unchanged despite the Brookings Institution's latest attempt to come to the rescue of the prevailing oligarchy.

WASHINGTON WEEKLY

BY PAUL W. WARD

Washington Weather Report

Washington, January 17

PITY the poor Washington correspondent who must try to compress into a page and a half such vital developments of the last few days as (1) the new TVA crisis brought on by Chairman Morgan's fresh outburst of hysterics; (2) the suspiciously sudden softening of the General Motors management's attitude toward unionization following John L. Lewis's threat here of a Congressional investigation of its corporate practices; (3) the invasion of Washington by 2,500 representatives of the unemployed demanding \$1,040,000,000 instead of the \$650,000,000 Roosevelt has recommended to carry the WPA on to July 1; (4) Roosevelt's governmental reorganization proposals, which in dealing with independent agencies such as the NLRB strike a reactionary note in positive conflict with his pleas for judicial reform; and (5) the La Follette committee's forging of a link between United States Steel's Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company and the flogging last September of a University of Alabama professor who had dared to intervene in behalf of a Communist railroaded to jail near Birmingham for attempting to enlist T. C. I. employees in the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union.

Fortunately, some of these developments *do* lend themselves to cursory treatment. Dr. Arthur E. Morgan's statement issued here yesterday, advocating a peaceful compromise with the power trust that runs directly contrary to the plain intent of the TVA act and is, as Judson King says, "almost exactly what the utilities want," need occasion no alarm. It was, I have good reason to believe, only an anguished outcry from a man who knows himself beaten. It was compounded of his desire to make the TVA merely a gigantic Hull House in the Valley and of the personal bitterness of a man who, spoiled by years as a college president, has taken affront at not being treated by the White House and his colleagues as an omniscient being in complete command of the TVA. His defeat, made certain by Senator Norris's vehement and unflinching opposition to the course Morgan advocates and by the no less vehement opposition of Congressmen and Senators from the TVA area, will be signalized shortly after Roosevelt's inauguration in the discontinuance of the cooperative "studies" now being made by federal power agencies and representatives of the private utilities looking toward a wedding of the TVA with its enemy, the power trust, in a "power pool." Morgan tried last spring to have Roosevelt boot David E. Lilienthal out of the TVA for insisting, now that it has the power boys in a corner, that the TVA should push relentlessly on to its objectives and place no trust in the utilities'

peace offerings. Morgan failed in that endeavor but did not resign. The time has come to provide the grace he needs and ease him out of the TVA. And the time also has come to rid the scene of one Louis Brandeis Wehle who, using his kinship to Justice Brandeis as a certificate that he is on the public's side, has stuck his nose and hands into the "power-pool" business on the side of the private utilities. Mr. Wehle, after having been unaccountably allowed to attend the power conference at the White House, busied himself in the subsequent negotiations as the President's representative, although he lacked, and still lacks, credentials. In his assumed role he attempted, among other things, while Roosevelt was out of town, to have the PWA's power division hold up certain contracts of vital importance in the TVA situation. Some time ago Mr. Wehle, a New York lawyer, also attempted to intervene *pro bono publico* in negotiations leading to the amendment of railroad-bankruptcy statutes. He was on retainer from one of the big insurance companies, as he was obliged to confess to the RFC, but he maintained that his clients had left him free to take the public's side.

General Motors' sudden agreement last week not only to meet the strike leaders face to face but also to negotiate with them on the union's demands surprised even Lewis and his C. I. O. lieutenants but did not catch them off guard. They prepared to go into the peace negotiations with fingers crossed and with the notion that Presidential intervention ultimately would be necessary to make a strong and lasting peace. The abrupt rupture which took place tonight when General Motors began openly playing patty-cake with its stooge, the Flint Alliance, a vigilante outfit with a former Buick paymaster as its chairman and an embezzler fresh from the penitentiary as its secretary, bears out Lewis's expectations. Meanwhile the La Follette committee investigators report that they have ready for disclosure sensational data on General Motors' anti-strike preparations, including the Flint Alliance.

Lewis privately had to bring his whip down hard and heavy across the back of Governor Frank Murphy in the matter of relief and the use of militia to bring the negotiations to the stage they reached. He probably would not have been so vigorous if Murphy, taking the immemorial liberal position, had not tried to use his prestige and his pose as a friend of labor to get the strike leaders to accept the corporation's bogus offer to talk peace only after an unconditional evacuation of the "sitdown" strikers.

Congress's immediate attention has been chiefly absorbed in the last few days by the President's reorganization proposals. They are meeting with enormous opposi-

tion from those members of Congress who want reorganization in the interest of budget-balancing rather than administrative efficiency and from those who are mainly interested in preservation of the status quo from the patronage angle. The President himself does not indicate a too rapt devotion to the whole scheme and speaks of two or three years as being perhaps necessary for its fulfilment, but that may be merely protective coloration. He is obviously fearful that his recommendations will be denounced as a grab for dictatorial powers. His proposal to abolish the office of Comptroller General, which J. R. McCarl converted into a sort of Supreme Court and used to thwart any executive or Congressional edict displeasing to him, is beyond question a sound one, and there can be little objection to his plan to create a Department of Public Welfare and a Department of Public Works. His proposal, on the other hand, to equip himself with six assistants with "a passion for anonymity" calls for wariness. It is bad enough to have one McIntyre in the White House without having to risk adding five more. But if the formal establishment of six assistant Presidents will aid in making it possible to hold the President himself more closely accountable for all acts of his Administration, then the proposition deserves favorable consideration, especially in view of the realities—which are that he already has a whole host of anonymous assistants who are constantly playing peekaboo with the public interest.

There is only one proposition in the program that cries out to be dynamited out of existence and that is the proposal to blanket all the independent boards and com-

missions in the executive departments and make them subservient to the vote snatchers who head those departments and to the Chief Executive. It is proposed, in justification of this plan, to separate the judicial functions of these independent agencies from their administrative functions and to preserve their judicial independence. It should be a sufficient condemnation of this idea to point out that such reactionary organizations as the American Bar Association have for years been advocating this step and that the bar association itself in 1934 formally recommended it. It runs counter to all modern and enlightened concepts of administrative law. Under it the members of the National Labor Relations Board, for example, would be set up on a pedestal of lofty "impartiality" and isolated from the interplay of economic and social forces with which they must deal. The shadow of combat that still darkens our courts would spread out to encompass the NLRB; whichever side in a case before it had the better lawyers, the better gladiators, would have to win the board's verdict regardless of the realities in the case. At present the board, in the best tradition of administrative law, can call upon its own staff of economists and lawyers to dig up all the data and testimony needed to illuminate those realities. Under the President's program the board would be a thing apart, and the amount of digging done by the staff of economists and lawyers, who would be in the administrative division, would depend on the will of whatever politician happened to be occupying the Secretaryship of Labor or the White House. The purse-strings would be held there.

Stafford Cripps, Socialist Leader

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, December 27

THE abdication of Edward VIII is now, I think, a definitely closed chapter. It has revealed some interesting things, among them the vital fact that the hold of the monarchical idea on popular imagination is far more fragile than we had been tempted to believe. I have heard more discussion these last three weeks of the desirability of republican institutions, and from all sorts and conditions of men, than there has been in fifty years. In my own view the Labor Party was profoundly right in supporting Mr. Baldwin. Mr. Atlee and his colleagues have strengthened certain theorems of our constitution that are vital if there is to be any hope of a peaceful solution of our problems.

It is now essential that the Labor Party get back to more permanent questions. The first of these is the recovery of the initiative in politics. The country is wholly disillusioned about the National government, but it does not trust the Labor Party sufficiently to risk the experiment of putting it into power. Why is this? The answer, I am confident, is that the country does

not believe the Labor Party knows its own mind. It has no clear foreign policy, as it has shown by its attitude to Spain and to rearmament. It has no clear domestic policy; it has not made up its mind between socialism and social reform. It is divided on the problem of the support it wants to win; Sir Walter Citrine and the trade unions would, it appears, be willing to make terms with Winston Churchill in return for a firm policy toward Germany, while Sir Stafford Cripps and the Socialist League have signed an agreement—still to be ratified by the respective bodies—for joint action with the Communists and the Independent Labor Party on the main issues of the day. There are also delicate organizational problems within the Labor Party which Edinburgh evaded without seeking to solve.

On foreign policy the first question is whether Labor is willing to press for immediate help to Spain now that non-intervention has become so tragic a farce. Let us be clear that this is not merely the issue of supplying munitions to the Caballero government in accordance with international law. It is also the much graver question of

telling Hitler that Great Britain is not prepared to see Franco victorious by the aid of German man and machine power now being poured into Spain. In the last resort this might mean war since, obviously, the abandonment of Franco by Hitler now would mean the first great diplomatic defeat the latter has suffered since 1933. That Labor should insist that this risk ought to be run is clear to every farsighted observer. That it will so insist, no one can predict. Since prediction is impossible, the man in the street may be pardoned for refusing to distinguish sharply between Mr. Eden's policy on Spain and that of Mr. Atlee. Expressions of hope for the Spanish government are not enough. The moment calls for deeds.

So, too, on rearmament. Dr. Dalton and Mr. Bevin are for supporting the National government's policy; Mr. Lansbury is for disarmament by example; Sir Stafford Cripps is for opposition to rearmament by this government but he would support rearmament by a Labor government against the menace of fascism. I do not profess to understand the Bevin-Dalton attitude. Rearmament is meaningless except in terms of foreign policy. They do not know—nobody knows—what this government's foreign policy is. Logically their support, both at home and abroad, may lead them into far-reaching co-operation with Mr. Baldwin for ends and methods that might split the labor movement from top to bottom. I agree with Sir Stafford Cripps that the party ought not, on any issue of policy, to trust this government. If they manage to maintain peace, it will involve some kind of accommodation with Hitler and Mussolini. If they stumble into war, their war will be an imperialist war, for it is with British imperialist interests that they are alone concerned. The Bevin-Dalton line, in a word, leads straight back to Labor's fatal choice of 1914. It leaves the National government to make the running and deprives Labor of a clear alternative policy. Sir Stafford Cripps is right in insisting that, if fascism chooses to gamble on war, only a Labor government would wage that war for working-class ends.

The party, I have said, has not really made its choice between socialism and social reform. That is the *damnosa hereditas* of Ramsay MacDonald's long association with the Labor Party. Either it must start with the assumption that the class war is real, that the state is the instrument of the owners of property, that the business of a Socialist government is socialism; or it must seek to operate the capitalist system as best it can, extracting from it the maximum concessions the employers can be persuaded to give. Sir Stafford Cripps sees, quite rightly, that the first policy demands the united front. The trade unions frankly fear it, because they think it might mean a fascist phase; they prefer the decadence of liberal capitalism, with the forms of political democracy, to the risk of the abandonment by the Tories of constitutional methods after a Labor victory. So the party says nothing about the presence of Sir Walter Citrine on the same platform as Mr. Churchill—who is really not a Socialist—though there is talk of expelling Sir Stafford Cripps for appearing on the same platform as Harry Pollett—who really is a Socialist. For the machine at Transport House Sir

Stafford has become the *enfant terrible* of the party. He talks Marxism with an English accent. He frightens the timid supporters of Labor. He has wide support among the intellectuals of the party. He has better meetings than any of his critics. His policy requires more courage, more incisiveness, and more realism than they like. It may even postpone an electoral victory while the voters get accustomed to its stark implications. Will the executive summon up courage enough to expel Sir Stafford and his followers?

On the whole, I think not. Sir Stafford would not go alone. His expulsion would deprive the party of one of the half-dozen figures in the movement with a national appeal. It would imply the frank abandonment of a really Socialist policy. It would sharpen all the differences within the party to a point utterly destructive of its hold on the masses. It would leave in command of policy the men who are unprepared for risks, who are largely responsible for 1931 and 1935, who cannot persuade the electorate to see any permanent distinction between social reform of the Baldwin variety and social reform of the Labor brand. The only difference between them lies in the belief of how much can be extracted from capitalism. It would make the splits in the left permanent—a policy that always maintains the right in power. I may be wrong in my prophecy, for there are undoubtedly in the movement forces which, both on personal and on doctrinal grounds, find the left generally an embarrassment. Comfortable trade-union officials, liberals who have joined the party without ever changing their views, pushing middle-class intellectuals who want to be in the Cabinet as quickly as possible, these may demand Sir Stafford's head on a charger. But the day they get it will mark the end of the hope of most of us that this generation may still see in England a great forward move toward socialism.

Of the organizational difficulties within the party this is hardly the place to speak. They are above all connected with the technique of representation in the direction of the party. They turn on the question of whether the executive is, effectively, to be determined in composition by the trade unions—which use the seats there as consolation prizes for men who do not get elected to the Trade Union Congress General Council—or whether the local labor parties, which do the real daily work of the party, are to have their proper share of government. At bottom, discontent with the system of governing the party represents discontent with the policy for which it stands. The simple fact is that by and large the masses are well in advance of their leaders. In the present constitution of the party they have no effective opportunity of making their voice felt. The masses have their eye on socialism; the members of the executive, with a few individual exceptions, have their eye on the next general election. The executive still thinks that discretion is the better part of valor. I wish it had courage enough and knowledge enough to see that it is this kind of discretion that made Ramsay MacDonald the colleague of Stanley Baldwin. Genuflexion to the fears of the capitalist has never been the high road to socialism.

Death in the Air

BY ROBERT W. HORTON

AN EXPERIENCED air-line pilot, writing to a friend recently about the tragic death of a colleague said: "It is too damn bad but doubtless — was pushing too hard. When yours truly runs into tough weather he's going to turn around and go back and set down in the first emergency field he finds." That is the spirit of the old "contact" flier—the man who piloted planes before instruments made the United States the leading nation in blind and night air-line operation. In the old days pilots took off only when they could see the ground beneath them.

No one would argue for a return to the horse-and-buggy days of aviation, but there is no doubt that instrument flying has created new perils of its own. Pilots are naturally inclined to put faith in their delicate instruments even though they know them to be fallible. Were some of the dead to speak they would testify that one or another of those instruments was more unreliable than their own guess would have been. This is illustrated, to a degree, by the Senate Commerce Committee's report on the Cutting crash. This report said that Pilot Bolton "was the victim of fallible ground aids to navigation in which he trusted implicitly."

Another aspect of the problem was discussed by the pilot quoted above. He was not discounting the value of instruments but merely being realistic when he said: "Flying as it is done today on your air lines in bad weather is 90 per cent guesswork. The pilot guesses his land speed, he guesses his drift, he guesses his wind speed and its direction, and in turn radios the ground his guess as to where he is."

Weather is, without question, the most vital element in modern aerial navigation. It is almost the only thing about which investigators can get definite information in seeking the reasons why a particular accident occurred. Given bad weather, a reasonable solution may be predicated. Still, it might have been something else. Aviation, unlike other forms of transportation, leaves little at the scene of a disaster to explain its cause.

Safety in aviation is the primary concern of the Bureau of Air Commerce of the Department of Commerce, and when, as in the Cutting crash, ground aids prove fallible, much of the responsibility must rest upon that strange subdivision of the federal government. Yet this vital bureau is a political pasture for Daniel Calhoun Roper, evangelistic Secretary of Commerce, and his hand-cultivated assistant, Colonel J. Monroe Johnson.

When Secretary Roper set up the present Bureau of Air Commerce, he performed an operation apparently unique in government. He gave the bureau three heads, but none was head man. As one distressed Senator characterized the gesture, Roper tossed three cocks into the ring, ap-

parently letting the longest spurs determine the winner—if any. Those familiar with the circumstances were not surprised at the bureau's rapid deterioration.

The storm broke on May 6, 1935. Just before dawn that day, in a pea-soup fog, the great Douglas DC-2 of Transcontinental and Western Air Express, carrying, among others, Senator Bronson Cutting of New Mexico, was flying only a few feet above ground in a gully 792 feet long and 300 feet wide near Kirksville, Missouri. A wing scraped the earth, upsetting the plane's equilibrium. Still Pilot Bolton might have pulled out had not a rise suddenly appeared a few yards ahead of the plane's nose. Reconstructing the last moments of this unhappy flight, the report to the Senate said: "But the upgrade beyond was too much. Fate, not Bolton, now held the stick. He landed creditably under the circumstances, but the inevitable happened—some of his passengers were killed and others fatally injured."

In memoriam to Bolton, I quote the following from that same report. I trust it may be graven upon the conscience of those, whoever they may be, who share the responsibility for the tragedy. "Bolton himself, mortally wounded and bleeding profusely, displayed such nerve and coolness in the few minutes that followed that no one could possibly allege carelessness, lack of loyalty to duty, selfishness, or a character that would shirk or under any circumstances disobey the law of tradition. Uncomplainingly he told everyone who asked him what had happened, that he was 'out of gas,' an expression the schools teach a pilot to say when he is forced down. Bolton was low on gas—too low to venture up again into the overcast, which would have meant another time-consuming orientation, but he did not whimper even though he knew he had been 'let down' in trying to land." Then came the often-repeated sentence: "He was the victim of fallible ground aids to navigation in which he trusted implicitly."

Why was Pilot Bolton "let down"? It is a long, complicated, and technical story which I can only summarize briefly here. But it illustrates clearly, I think, why, given the present administration of air safety, there must be blood on the wings.

First, consider the plane and its equipment. It was one of the best types in air-line service. Its operators—Transcontinental—have contributed substantially to the development of safety aids in aerial navigation. The plane was carrying an automatic pilot based on the gyroscope principle which keeps the plane level in flight and relieves the pilot of considerable strain. It had a controllable pitch propeller; a two-way radio; an artificial horizon, particularly valuable in showing the pilot just how much he is diving, banking, or climbing; a rate-of-climb

indicator to improve his guess as to how rapidly he is descending in feet per minute; a directional gyro which the pilot sets on the course he plans to fly and from which he gets, theoretically at least, exact and continuous readings on his course; a sensitive altimeter that is supposed to record descent to within ten feet of accuracy; equipment to keep ice from forming on wing edges; landing flaps which act as brakes, and various other gadgets designed to assure maximum safety of operation. Yet Pilot Bolton was "let down."

He had intended to land at Kansas City. Pilot J. D. Groves took off just ahead of Bolton at Albuquerque on the first section of the fatal flight. He barely made his Kansas City landing. The ceiling was falling much faster than the erroneous weather reports showed. As he came in on the radio beam through the mist, the beam was suddenly cut off so the Commerce Department could broadcast a weather report in which Groves was not at all interested. He wheeled and headed back to come in again, and once more the same thing happened. Groves had to make two approaches to the field on instruments before the radio beam returned to continuous operation, though he had requested some miles out of Kansas City that it be not cut off until he landed. Bolton came through the fog a few minutes later. The ceiling by then was too low for him to follow Groves in. He was directed to go on to Kirksville.

To summarize again. Bolton expected the northeast leg of the Kansas City radio range to be sufficiently dependable to carry him to Kirksville. He also was justified in expecting normal operation of the Commerce Department's radio station at Kirksville. Finally he counted on spotting the three rotating beacons along the last twenty miles of the run to Kirksville. The Senate Commerce Committee reported that "all three failed him," and all three were operated by the Department of Commerce. The northeast range was off course; the Kirksville radio was not operating properly because of faulty inspection; and the three radio beacons had been reduced from 1,000 watts to 500, which detracted substantially from their efficiency in penetrating fog. Thorough investigation of these circumstances moved the Senate committee to remark that "no more is needed to prove a case of government negligence, to put it mildly." That, in short, was the Cutting crash.

It was not unique in so far as the Department of Commerce was involved. Suspicion also attaches to the crack-up that killed Martin Johnson, noted explorer, near Los Angeles on January 12. The cause of that crash is at this writing unknown. However, it is interesting to recall that late last year another Western Air Express pilot reported that on the Salt Lake City-Los Angeles run "one failure of radio range has resulted in a dangerous situation. Trying to get into Union Air Terminal [the destination of the Johnson plane] at Burbank, California, ceiling over 1,200 feet, visibility four miles at night, came over on top with intention of working a problem of the Van Nuys radio range. After milling about for an hour and unable to get any signals from the Van Nuys range, was forced to return to Palmdale, California, in-

termediate field, because of gasoline shortage." This pilot discovered that the Van Nuys range was sending out improper signals. He added: "Dependability of operation same as two years ago. Stability of course worse."

There are other instances of something wrong on the ground. There are instances, too, of something wrong in the air. Competition leads to risks in the face of bad weather. Impatient passengers press the pilot to go on, take a chance against his better judgment. The air lines are by no means innocent of practices which apparently can only be eliminated by a tough-minded government. But if past experience is any indication there is no hope in Roper or his gang in the Commerce Department. After the Martin Johnson crash Colonel Johnson called the newspapermen in and made a great show of "taking action," and issuing new regulations. But such gestures have not been the answer in the past and there is no reason to believe they can be now.

The Senate Commerce Committee's report, ignored by Roper for seven months, said plainly: "We wish we could be spared this necessity, but we strongly recommend to the Secretary of Commerce that he thoroughly overhaul the Bureau of Air Commerce with a view to improving its administrative officials. . . . Until there is greater firmness, greater experience with men, larger knowledge of the problems involved, there can be no hope of improvement in the Bureau of Air Commerce." The bureau's administration is in the hands of Eugene Vidal, now known nominally as the director. Of him the committee said: "He is an amiable gentleman. He has a good background. Our fear is that he is too amiable, that he is lacking in iron, positiveness, and the determination to keep the employees under his direction functioning according to schedule."

Of Vidal's principal competitor for place, the very fierce-looking Rex Martin, in whose custody reposes the air-navigation division, the report said: "We question the professional equipment and preparation of Mr. Rex Martin. A man of much larger experience is needed for this position. He must be chosen not with reference to his political affiliations but strictly because of his professional ability, his known success as an administrator, his possession of tact and leadership. These qualities are not combined in Mr. Martin." Colonel J. Carroll Cone, the third of Roper's triple threat in air commerce, "came through the ordeal without criticism."

As this is written, seven months after Mr. Roper was so gently reminded that he might conceivably have some responsibility for the blood on the wings, the Bureau of Air Commerce is still "administered" by these three gentlemen. And as the storm continues to gather on Capitol Hill with its lightning directed at Mr. Roper's head, a movement is under way to solve the whole problem by turning supervision and control of air lines over to the Interstate Commerce Commission. Senator Pat McCarran of Wyoming, in fact, has introduced a bill to this end. Meanwhile, Mr. Roper is flying blind into a storm which may ground him despite the accumulation of political instruments with which he has equipped himself during his long career in Washington politics.

Profile of General Motors

BY SAMUEL ROMER

WHEN sitdown strikes in five General Motors automobile and parts plants resulted in a practical paralysis of production operations and forced direct negotiations between national officers of both the corporation and the union, few of the workers involved realized that they were participating in the first important battle of a civil war which will largely determine the industrial progress of America during the next decade. For the attack on General Motors was basically an attack on one of the important sectors of Wall Street; other sectors are steel, oil, aluminum, and rubber. And the defense of the General Motors Corporation was the beginning of a nation-wide strategic defense in the coming struggle.

When the United Automobile Workers and the Committee for Industrial Organization with which the union is affiliated chose the automobile industry as their first base of operations, they did not pick a weak link in the national set-up of Wall Street. For G. M. is one of the giant corporations of America—its assets of \$1,268,532,025.85 being topped in the field of manufacturing enterprise only by those of the American Telephone and Telegraph and United States Steel. General Motors stands by itself in the automobile industry; its assessed value equals that of Ford, Chrysler, and Studebaker combined, with a few of the lesser shops thrown in for good measure. Ten years ago it challenged the invincible Ford and licked him. Fifty-five per cent of the nation's 320,000 automobile workers are located in the sixty-nine G. M. plants in the United States; thousands of others are bossed by G. M. throughout the world. G. M. manufactures and sells not only automobiles but household appliances, gasoline, airplanes, and even air rides.

It began its existence in 1908 with the goal of absolute domination of the industry. In the early hectic days, when every first-class mechanic who could raise a few thousand dollars opened his own plant, Wall Street took alarm at the spectacle of more than 600 competing firms. Ward, Hayden, and Satterlee (the latter a Morgan in-law), a New York law firm, began negotiations with Benjamin Briscoe of the Maxwell-Briscoe Company, an early pioneer, and William C. Durant, whose Buick then led the field, and suggested a meeting. They met, Briscoe later wrote, for "the purpose of having one big concern of such dominating influence in the automobile industry as, for instance, the United States Steel Corporation exercises in the steel industry, so that its very influence would prevent many of the abuses that we believed existed." The projected combination would have included the big four of that time—Buick, Ford, Reo, and Maxwell-Briscoe—with all checks countersigned by

Morgan. This plan fell through when the late Senator Couzens, acting for Ford, and R. E. Olds of Reo each demanded \$3,000,000 cash before they would enter the combination. The idea was then discarded; Morgan wasn't ready to spend \$6,000,000 to bottle-neck automobiles—it was too great a speculation!

Durant and Briscoe, aided by George W. Perkins, a Morgan partner, continued conferences on a further proposal to form International Motors—with the same object in view. But when Stetson, the Morgan attorney, accused Durant of double-crossing the others by privately purchasing stock during the conferences, the Buick manufacturer broke off negotiations and began the organization of his own holding company, the General Motors Company of New Jersey. He immediately set about to achieve domination of the industry: his first important act was to take an option on the Ford Motor Company for an \$8,000,000 sale price with \$2,000,000 cash as down payment. He was dealing with badly scared men in Henry Ford and James Couzens—the Selden patent decision had just been handed down and it spelled ruin for those manufacturers who, like Ford, wouldn't play ball with the rest of the crowd. But if Ford and Couzens were scared, they still retained enough of their business acumen to demand a 25 per cent down payment. Durant couldn't raise the money and Ford continued making automobiles.

But there were many manufacturers, large and small, who weren't worried about the cash—and these Durant bought by giving them huge blocks of stock. In two years G. M. had the entire or controlling interest in twenty automobile and parts plants and was producing ten makes—21 per cent of the entire United States output. Durant ran wild in his expansion; his exaggerated stock issues and "gifts" of huge blocks of promotion stocks to friendly executives created whispers of "water." He was running heavily in debt to suppliers and commercial banks without the liquid capital to balance. A final inexplicable flier in the worthless stock of the Heany Lamp Company for \$7,000,000 completed the rout, and late in 1910 the Wall Street wolves closed in on their prey.

For a \$15,000,000 debt refunding, a syndicate headed by Lee, Higginson and Company and the J. and W. Seligman and Company forced Durant to agree to voting-trust control of the corporation, with the bankers retaining four of the five votes of the trust. Durant was through—two years after he had founded G. M. with grandiose hopes.

There is something likable about Durant. For one thing, he is one of the few who didn't come from Wall Street to run the industry; instead he came from the

industry to run Wall Street ragged during the boom years of the twenties. Although he later became known, thanks to the *American Magazine*, as one of the Wall Street bulls, he always had an open contempt for the vested crowd and delighted in beating them at their own game. From them he learned the technique of the double-cross, and he applied it to them with a vengeance. That today he is a beaten man is a tribute to the power of organization; that it took "the crowd" more than two decades to beat him is a tribute to his shrewdness and pugnacity.

When he was forced out in 1910 he scornfully disdained to ride along while the bankers took the wheel. Even as the reorganization of G. M. was begun, and by a stroke of a pen five of the less profitable makes were eliminated, Durant set about organizing the Chevrolet Motor Company. In New York he met John J. Raskob, secretary to Pierre S. du Pont, who was seeking a market for the stupendous war profits of the munitions concern. Durant talked; Raskob became convinced. Together with Louis G. Kaufman, an independent New York banker and capitalist, they paved the road for Durant's return by buying General Motors stock on the open market.

Legend has it that on October 1, 1915, when the voting-trust agreement expired, the anti-Durant conspirators were startled by the entrance of their foe into the G. M. conference room. Slowly, confidently he walked to the head of the table and flinging down his proxies declared, "Gentlemen, I control." Legend, as usual, is probably wrong in the exact details of the proceedings, but the story undoubtedly expresses Durant's feeling when he regained domination of G. M. Durant was again king—even if the du Ponts were parliament. A last-minute attempt by the

anti-Durant block to mobilize the stockholders was of no avail; after a weak fight Charles W. Nash, who had built up the net income from \$2,474,177 in 1910 to more than ten times that in 1915, sought new fields to conquer and subsequently began Nash Motors. Durant was again running the works—subject to the qualified control of the du Ponts. He was later to discover that he had jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

Things ran smoothly for a while. In 1919 G. M. acquired 60 per cent interest in Fisher Body; later it made the latter a unit of its empire. (As an example of the complete victory of finance over manufacturing in G. M. control, Fisher Body is almost perfect. There were seven Fisher brothers at the time of the merger; today only two are left on the G. M. board of directors—and they don't say much.) In 1919 a 1,000 per cent stock dividend was declared for all shareholders, and a tremendous debenture stock issue of more than \$217,000,000 was ordered. The issue was undersubscribed, however, and when Durant used his entire personal fortune to try and bolster the falling market of 1921—G. M. shares fell from \$376 in March to \$13.25 in December—the du Ponts decided that they were through playing with the automobile magnate. Along with Morgan they closed in; and Durant was again through. The du Ponts still were parliament, but Morgan was now king.

Today Lammot du Pont, president of du Pont de Nemours, is chairman of the board; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., who rode in on Pierre du Pont's coat tails in 1920 as operating vice-president, succeeded Pierre as president in 1923. Other du Pont men on the board of thirty-five are three more du Ponts, Donaldson Brown, a du Pont in-law who acts as riding boss in his capacity as chairman of the powerful

In 1935 the 350 officers, directors, and managers of General Motors received an aggregate reward of \$10,000,000 in salaries, bonuses, and commissions. This represented, for eleven executives, an increase in "wages" of from 50 to 100 per cent over 1934. In the same period General Motors granted a 5 per cent increase in the hourly rate of its wage workers. We print below a list of the twenty-seven executives who received more than \$50,000 in 1935. Figures are taken from government reports and from the statements of the corporation as reported in the New York Times.

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., President	\$374,505
William S. Knudsen, Executive Vice-President	325,869
Donaldson Brown, Chairman Finance Committee	249,862
John L. Pratt, Vice-President	249,862
John T. Smith, General Counsel	245,437
William A. Fisher, Vice-President	224,107
Edward F. Fisher, General Manager Fisher Body Division	221,347
Charles F. Kettering, Director Research Laboratories	216,036
James D. Mooney, Vice-President	205,543
Richard H. Grant, Vice-President	203,478
Albert Bradley, Vice-President	190,091
Ormand E. Hunt, Vice-President	190,041
Charles E. Wilson, Vice-President	189,991
Marvin E. Coyle, General Manager	133,670
John J. Schurmann, Jr., President, General Motors Acceptance Corporation	119,018
B. C. Place, Salesman Engineer	92,298
Elmer G. Biechler, President, Frigidaire	84,745
Frederick C. Kraeger, General Manager, Delco-Remy Division	84,424
Lewis D. Curtice, President, Buick Division	81,260
Charles L. McCuen, President, Olds Division	81,099
Stephen M. Du Brue, Director, Art and Color Section	77,768
Thomas P. Archer, Vice-President	69,144
James M. Crawford, Chief Engineer, Chevrolet Division	68,375
Floyd O. Tanner, Executive Manufacturing Staff	58,287
Ernest W. Proctor, Comptroller	52,754
John J. Carter, Olds Division	52,325
David E. Ralston, Olds Motor Works	51,437
Grand Total	\$4,192,773

finance committee; Walter S. Carpenter, Jr., and Raskob. Morgan is represented by Junius S. himself, George F. Baker, Owen D. Young, Clarence M. Woolley, George Whitney, and Seward Prosser. Seven du Ponts and four Morgans sit on the finance committee of fourteen. Other interesting members of the board are Sir Harry McGowan of the Imperial Chemical Industries of England (the British du Ponts), Fritz Opel of the Adam Opel A. G. of Russelsheim, Germany, and Arthur B. Purvis and R. Samuel McLaughlin of Canadian Industries. A cross-section of the interlocking directorates (229 seats) represented on the G. M. board would make even Mrs. Dillon quail.

General Motors began as a holding company but it soon became an operating enterprise. Its affiliates are divided into the following groups: eight passenger and commercial car companies with eighteen plants, twenty body and parts companies with thirty-seven plants, a national service company, Delco Appliance and Frigidaire, two airplane plants, Eastern, Western, and Transcontinental air lines, Ethyl gasoline, four members of its own financial group, four real-estate corporations, three research companies, and an impressive worldwide network of sales and assembly companies. The corporation has never passed a dividend since 1916—when Durant returned to power; before that time it reinvested in itself its entire net income. Even in 1932, when it operated at an enormous deficit, it paid dividends of \$53,993,330 from its surplus. In 1934 it divided a \$64,443,490 melon; in 1935 its net income of \$167,226,510 was exceeded in its enormity only by its 1926 to 1929 incomes. (It is in comparison with these figures that the importance of the 1936 bonus of \$10,000,000 can be measured.) Its officials rank among the highest-paid men in the country, and their salaries are supplemented by dividends and generous bonuses. From the \$348,841,524 invested in the corporation since its formation, G. M. paid cash dividends of \$1,299,700,081 through 1935, part of the net income for that year of \$2,031,044,988.

But although G. M. has been more than generous with the top layers, ordinary workers have received an average yearly wage of \$1,525, according to the 1935 report. This figure is, of course, too high—it includes the non-automobile worker and the highly skilled craftsman along with the men on the assembly line and at the punch presses. Independent reports have established something under \$900 as closer to the annual wage of the average automobile worker. G. M. has been no shining exception to the rule in the automobile industry that "high wages" may be a fine-sounding slogan to sell cars but nothing to worry about in actual manufacturing operation. G. M. boasts of the wide diffusion of its stock ownership: there are 337,218 share-holders, the financial report declares. But nearly half of these, or about 140,000, hold ten shares or less. The du Ponts themselves hold only about 10 per cent of the stock, but nevertheless retain control by pyramiding their holdings into nearly 33 per cent.

G. M. has followed the orthodox tradition of the

automobile barons in its dealings with its employees. The men, even their private lives, are considered company property. Its espionage organization is almost as highly developed as the feared Ford service; cities like Flint and Pontiac—and Detroit—are completely under its thumb. Long before the notorious Black Legion appeared in the down-river Ford area, G. M. workers in Pontiac dreaded the "Bullet Club," a secret political organization whose officials practically displaced the formal employment agencies in hiring and firing.

The importance of the skirmish victory won by the union when the corporation agreed to meet with the union officers in an effort to settle the strike may well be overemphasized. G. M. has always followed a flexible policy in its labor relations. Even during the open-shop heyday of 1922-25, when its executives boasted that not a union man worked in their plants, unions were tolerated in the highly skilled crafts, such as the metal polishers, and verbal agreements were often reached. G. M. shapes its labor policy in relation to the question of nuisance value; it has not hesitated to meet and bargain with groups when it would have been expensive to do otherwise. With production almost completely shut off by the sitdowns, while Ford and Plymouth sales are reaching top marks, G. M. may well decide that a temporary settlement is its best strategy. But such a settlement will decide nothing in the larger battle; it will only mark a truce as both sides prepare for the next drive.

Bernard De Voto and Kitty Smith

BY FLOYD DELL

BERNARD DE VOTO, who conducts the Easy Chair department in *Harper's Monthly*, has apparently been unable to resist the temptation to expand himself into the papal void left by the recent collapse of H. L. Mencken. De Voto has been getting more and more pontifical about America every month. America is the way it is, one gathers from De Voto's pronouncements. And it is that way *because* that is the way it is. Consequently, it is better that way than it would be any other way. I think that is the De Voto philosophy of Americanism in a nutshell.

I myself have been inclined to agree with some of his opinions. Thus I should probably have thought that schoolmarms in small towns cannot expect to be allowed to smoke cigarettes, drink cocktails, or wear shorts in public. But when De Voto pompously rebukes these errant schoolmarms in the name of "social integration," I abruptly realize that this is merely Ku Klux Klan talk.

A change sufficient to make Caribou accept Chicago's morality for teachers would mean that *beliefs essential to the vigor of the whole* had lost their vitality. When Kitty Smith can smoke a cigarette, drink a cocktail, or wear shorts on the corner of Fifth and Spring unre-

buked by her superintendent, the *social integration that is the health of Caribou and, therefore, of the nation, will be gone* [italics mine].*

It is my own impression that such a change is now going on in small towns all over the country. I should not be surprised if in ten years or even less time Kitty the schoolmarm could smoke, drink cocktails, or wear shorts in Caribou without being in any danger whatever of losing her job. Personally I am for Kitty the brash young schoolmarm. De Voto, however, warns us that if Kitty wins out, the "social integration that is the health of Caribou and, therefore, of the nation, will be gone." These are strong words. Manners and morals have changed in the last quarter-century. We men folks descended from the lofty plane of social integration represented by the quid and the spittoon to the moral anarchy of the unmanly cigarette. And now nice girls in Caribou smoke cigarettes, and respectable matrons learned back in boom times to drink cocktails at the Caribou Country Club. But obviously it does not devolve upon ordinary people to maintain "the social integration that is the health of Caribou and, therefore, of the nation." It is our school teachers who, according to the De Voto philosophy, have the high and holy task of upholding our "social integration." They perform it by consenting to be—or pretending to be—purer than other people.

So far this is Vestal Virgin stuff, and is rapidly passing out of date. Schoolmarms have in various parts of the country fought for and won the right to marry and hold their jobs. Yet chastity is the very nubbin of the question of the right of schoolmarms to smoke cigarettes, drink cocktails, and neck in parked cars—an indulgence which De Voto also mentions as forbidden to Kitty the schoolmarm in Caribou. These practices were once the outward and visible signs of a probable or possible loss of female virginity. However, public ideas have changed so much, even in Caribou, that these standards are no longer applied to females in general, just to schoolmarms. Why? Can it be that there is some other aspect of our "social integration" that is endangered by the independence of our young schoolmarms? Is all this fuss really just about Kitty's cigarettes, her cocktails, her shorts, and her necking?

De Voto's article is a commentary upon the report of the Commission of Social Studies of the American Historical Association. This report shows that the freedom of our school teachers is curtailed in various ways by school authorities. It appears that Kitty has to conform to the political as well as the moral opinions held by the best people of Caribou. In De Voto's words:

On Armistice Day, pleasantly recalling the handsome face of John Strachey, who lectured at Michigan last year, she refuses to buy a poppy from a buddy; the fervor thus reawakened leads her to tell the fifth grade that world peace would be wonderful, information which reaches the Adjutant of the American Legion post through a son who is doing badly in arithmetic. The superintendent of the Caribou schools now summons Kitty and forbids her to teach communism;

* Mr. De Voto's article, *Tyranny at Longfellow School*, appeared in the January issue of *Harper's*.

he also instructs her not to wear chiffon stockings to school, and as circuitously as possible tells her to put on a brassiere. By February she is nervously aware that the whole Eastern Star is gossiping about her.

Thus we are given to understand by De Voto that the current tendency of American school teachers to think for themselves on political and social subjects is a form of tactlessness which would inevitably irritate any community and is naturally open to official rebuke.

The restrictions upon school teachers are many, and apparently both tyrannical and absurd. "It looks pretty bad," says De Voto, who continues: "But let us not too hastily denounce Caribou. And let us not assail it with too hasty a use of the word freedom." Why not? Because, according to De Voto, "freedom is neither a syllogism nor an entity, and the problem of freedom is not simple but infinitely complex and infinitely contingent."

That should go a long way to console Kitty and the other teachers who thought they had lost their freedom. "Caribou," he says solemnly, "is enforcing on Kitty Smith a special morality that comes from the relationship of its energies to one another." This makes everything all right. The relationship of Caribou's energies to one another just naturally makes Kitty Smith the goat, and gives the American school system into the hands of the American Legion. Above all, we should "not too hastily denounce Caribou," because freedom is "neither a syllogism nor an absolute nor an entity," but just something that American school teachers haven't got.

If Kitty the schoolmarm is allowed to smoke cigarettes or to refuse to buy a poppy on Armistice Day or to mention world peace to her fifth-grade pupils or to exercise her rights as a citizen in having opinions of her own, hell may pop. In De Voto's choicer language, "The disequilibrium so created would swing us out of the orbit so far that all kinds of freedom would be in danger."

He lets it go at that. Maybe we shall go Communist if Kitty the Caribou schoolmarm is allowed to smoke cigarettes and talk pacifism. Maybe we shall turn to fascism so as to shut Kitty up and put her back in the kitchen. Something awful will happen if Caribou and the Ku Klux Klan capitulate to Kitty the schoolmarm. First the "social integration" of Caribou will collapse and then that of the nation. Will it stop there?

We must wait and see. And we probably shall see, because the teachers in Caribou and all the other towns of America are showing a disposition to fight for their rights. We may as well prepare for the worst.

Meanwhile these words of De Voto's are so sublime in their papal quality that I think they should be put in small capitals as on a tombstone:

WHEN KITTY SMITH CAN SMOKE A CIGARETTE,
DRINK A COCKTAIL, OR WEAR SHORTS ON THE
CORNER OF FIFTH AND SPRING UNREBUKED BY
HER SUPERINTENDENT, THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION
THAT IS THE HEALTH OF CARIBOU AND, THERE-
FORE, OF THE NATION WILL BE GONE.

Even without OR HAVE OPINIONS OF HER OWN, these words say quite enough. Heil De Voto!

The Age of American Man

BY GREGORY MASON

THE sensation of the annual conference of the American Anthropological Association held recently at Washington was the paper read by the retiring president, Dr. Herbert J. Spinden, declaring that man's occupation of America did not occur earlier than 2000 B. C. As Dr. Spinden said, his theory entails a "tremendous deflation" in the chronology of American man.

It is a deflation which will not be generally accepted. The tendency in anthropological circles during the past decade has been to attribute an increasing antiquity to man's occupation of America; successive discoveries, mainly in the Southwest, have left little doubt in the minds of most competent students that human life was in America in the Pleistocene period.

The most important of these discoveries relate to the so-called "Folsom man." A few years ago at Folsom, New Mexico, at a depth of from four to thirteen feet, dart heads of jasper and chalcedony were found in or among the skeletons of thirty bison of a species extinct since the Pleistocene closed. These darts, now on exhibition in the American Museum of Natural History, have been estimated by Barnum Brown, the museum's Curator of Fossil Reptiles, to have been made from 15,000 to 20,000 years ago.

Human bones or artifacts have been found with remains of Pleistocene animals at several other points in the Southwest, the finds of Dr. Chester Stock at Bishop's Cap Mountain, New Mexico, and of Mark R. Harrington in Gypsum Cave, Nevada, being especially celebrated. Mr. Harrington found some 900 man-made articles under or in close association with fossilized remains of the extinct little ground sloth (*Nothotherium Shastense Sinclair*).

Dr. Spinden can reconcile his theory of man's brief occupation of America with such discoveries as this of Mr. Harrington only by contending that the Pleistocene lasted much later in America than in the Old World. This contention has by no means been proved. Spinden's theory is based on evidence that Old World culture most resembling Amerindian was not in northern parts of the Old World much before 2000 B. C. And he finds that "a wide zone of the Old World, blocking the road to America, was itself unused by man until long after the last continental ice sheet of the Weichsel-Wisconsin glaciation had disappeared. . . . Now the portal to America for man and beast lies at 67° north latitude. We have, then, a no-proof barrier a thousand miles deep which stretches clear across the Old World." Spinden, obviously, assumes that man must have entered America from Asia, and by the Bering Straits or an adjacent northern route. These two assumptions are currently orthodox, of course, and are shared by anthropologists who believe

that man has been in America for 20,000 years or longer.

Anthropologists live in the midst of mysteries; they can prove almost nothing, they can only weigh evidence and compare possibilities—in this lie both the weakness and the charm of anthropology. Which is merely an introduction to the remark that, despite the deserved reputation for scholarship which Dr. Spinden enjoys, the majority of anthropologists will hardly follow him in the argument we have been discussing unless more evidence is forthcoming. Their reluctance to accept such a recent date as 2000 B. C. for the arrival of man in America is based largely on the complex and independent nature of American Indian agriculture and languages. These features of American agriculture and languages—often stressed by Dr. Spinden himself in his earlier writings—have convinced many experts that such dissimilarities to Old World agriculture and languages could not have been developed in anything like the short space of 3,900 years which Spinden now proposes.

The American Indian's agriculture, built around beans, squashes, and maize, or "Indian corn" (which some botanists have called the oldest cereal in the world), has given the modern world five-sevenths of all the vegetable products it uses. And when Columbus first sighted the Bahamas there were being spoken in America 150 languages, or more than were being spoken in all the rest of the world combined. Not one of these, moreover, has been found to bear any relation to Old World languages.

In his paper before the American Anthropological Association Dr. Spinden did not meet this agriculture-and-language difficulty. When I asked him about it afterward, he implied that he could not see it as an insuperable obstacle to the acceptance of his theory of the recency of America's occupation.

Few will be able to follow him in this, particularly as regards language, which is one of the most conservative elements in human culture. Could 150 languages have been brought to America since 2000 B. C. without fragments of some of them being left to survive in the Old World? Or could 150 languages have been developed in the New World in only 3,900 years?

Those who know Dr. Spinden may wonder if we have here the familiar and unhappy spectacle of a man growing conservative in middle age. In the past he has often been admired by the more open minds in science for the boldness of his theories. But even the "fundamentalists" in anthropology were shocked by the extreme conservatism of his retiring address. Let us hope he does not return all the way to the position of Dr. James Usher, who won the approval of seventeenth-century scientists with his dictum that the world was created in 4004 B. C.

Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THAT the Glenn Frank case is not yet ended and that it may drag on for some time is plain, particularly if the Wisconsin legislature should really make a thoroughgoing inquiry into the whole case. Unfortunately, the hearing given to Mr. Frank cannot be called a satisfactory one. It did give him his day in court and enable him to put in his defense, or as much of it as he was ready to offer. But it was not a trial, and the simple fact is that the regents voted on the pre-announced lines and removed the president by one vote as they had already decided to do. The specific charges made by the leader of those who stood with Governor La Follette were not voted upon, although they were formulated at considerable length by Mr. Wilkie and were sent, I assume, since I received a copy through the mail, to a good many persons. Probably we shall only get the final word when the American Association of University Presidents makes its report upon the case.

I think it will find that the bulk of the faculty had a personal liking for Glenn Frank but felt that the time had come for a change, principally on the correct ground that Mr. Frank is not a scholar or an academic leader who takes strong positions, not a man really fitted by training and taste for the headship of so great an institution. If they go into President Frank's handling of the salary cuts for which he was responsible, they will find that these cuts unfortunately bore down most heavily upon the teachers in the lower brackets and were shaded in favor of those in the higher brackets, at the top of which stood himself. The principle that the head of an institution should set the example when it comes to making sacrifices was not followed by Mr. Frank. If the university presidents can then throw real light upon the Governor's connection with the case, they will help a lot. At present there is a conflict of opinion on this subject. The editors of the *New York Times* stand behind their reporter's account that two regents testified that the Governor called them to his office and gave them a list of four names from which to choose the President's successor—at least they embody this in an editorial. This statement is challenged by others who were present at the hearing.

The Governor has given such excellent service to the state that I hope his future usefulness will not be impaired by proof that he did such a thing. I admit that any governor has the right to state publicly that he considers a given state-university president unfit, and I know that under the existing system in Wisconsin it is very hard for a governor so to act as not to be charged with playing politics with the university. I do not question that Governor La Follette conscientiously believes that Mr. Frank

has been a failure. My own position has been from the first that Mr. Frank was entitled to "the fullest statement of any charges brought against him and the opportunity to answer them before all the world," and that a rumored hasty ouster at a suddenly called meeting of the trustees ought to be prevented. This second objective was achieved, and the first also—to the limited extent stated above. Curiously enough, my appeal for fair play was interpreted as meaning that I approved of the retention of Mr. Frank. It is true that President Frank was given the opportunity to resign a year ago so that there would be no public airing of the dissatisfaction with him, but I respect him for having finally chosen to bring it out in the open. If I were in his position today I should be extremely unhappy that the allegations of failure to live up to his financial agreement and to end his public speaking and writing, and of extra and unnecessary expenses charged to the university in addition to his salary, have not been definitely adjudicated.

My third point, in a dispatch to the *Madison Capital-Times*, was a plea for sound and decent university administration in the future with politics eliminated. Here I should like to make some constructive suggestions. If the legislature views its task seriously and without partisanship, it should devise some plan for separating the governor, so far as possible, from the administration of the university. Let us hope that President Conant of Harvard will be asked to come out, as he has offered to, and, in his words, take up the "question of the proper relation of such a Board of Regents to the whole structure of the state government." (He added, "I cannot help feeling that the arrangements in the state of Wisconsin are not particularly happy in this regard and not such as to reassure those who may have grave doubts about the board during a crisis such as the present.") Professor Stephen Duggan writing in the *New York Times* has told of the admirable cooperation at Vassar among the board of trustees, the president, the faculty, the students, and the alumnae. Certainly some such scheme should be worked out at Madison. One admirable suggestion made to me is that the president's term should be for ten years only, with a straight salary and no perquisites, and with the possibility of reappointment. Next it seems that there should be some alumni representation upon the Board of Regents and that at least two professors should sit on the board, without vote, to present the faculty's view of administrative problems, these professors to serve for not more than two years. The modification of the relationship of the governor to the university is not so easy to think out, but men like President Conant should find a way.

BOOKS and the ARTS

A Word for Winter

BY D. S. SAVAGE

A grief of glaciers smashed my summer slowly
Cutting me off from source and sun
Fixing the tree trunks in a winter vice,
My landscape leveled to a snowflat scene.

Stumbling thin-shod I walked half winter through
An icefast earth with no birds calling.
The cold locked life within each frozen cell,
Anguish ingrown, isolation killing.

But winter-bounded I became winter-weaned
Inured, accustomed to the blood's slow tread
Ate winter's berries, built with ice a wall
For warmth and shelter, mapped the rough tracks I trod.

Now, master of this life that I have made
From snow and silence, fit, no longer loath
To leave, I bale the skins I trapped for trade,
Plan out my route, set compass for the South.

Surrealist Field Day

SURREALISM. By Julien Levy. New York: The Black Sun Press. \$3.

MR. LEVY'S book is an anthology of surrealist verse, prose, painting, and objects, printed on paper of five colors in emulation perhaps of Rimbaud's coloring of the vowels. In the prefatory essay surrealism is presented as a "point of view" related to Marxism and theosophy, psychoanalysis and Tibetan Yoga; it is also recommended as a delightful parlor game and a way of life applicable to almost every field, including politics and suicide. Mr. Levy's description of surrealist paintings as "having slight likeness to any object but nevertheless seeming to offer a sort of *essence* [his italics] of the spirit of the essence of an object," while unjust to the paintings, will serve as an adequate description of his own explanatory essay.

Although the surrealists decry abstract art as a rationalistic exercise with no future, they preserve its doctrines of absolutes, its subjective content, its ideas about pure and instinctive sources of creation independent of experience. Just as the abstract artists wished to limit art to supposedly basic, elemental forms, the surrealists turn to the hidden psychological roots of fantasy as the exclusive subject matter of art. For the surrealists the subconscious is itself an artistic world, a studio within the psyche, continually producing original images, symbols, metaphors, and dramas. Every man is a poet and painter in the dark, creating for his own inner contemplation; it requires the conscious action of the surrealist school—choice and skilful mediums of the subconscious—to bring this underground world to the surface.

The truth is, however, that by fantasy and the subconscious the surrealists mean only certain corners of these fields, the

ambiguous, the tormented and violent, and the sexually disturbing. They are not concerned with the subconscious in so far as it is the starting-point of practical and rational activities, but only in its morbid and bizarre aspects. The personal source of a revolutionary's devotion to his cause may lie, as is argued, in obscure conflicts with his father, but the surrealists, who talk much about the "service of the revolution," are far more interested in the uncontrolled grotesque images and symbols formed by such conflicts than in the ordered activity to which they had been indirectly transposed. The world of the subconscious is therefore not a source but a fulfilment, and in the degree that it exhibits disorder and inversion, traces of anxiety and obsession, it is idealized in contrast to the detestable regularity of everyday life. Revolution itself becomes a surrealist phenomenon, a mutilation and inversion of the existing order, in which the great subconscious force of the masses is released.

In the preceding styles distortions and dissections of the human being were bloodless; whatever their remote cause, they appeared to be intellectual adjustments to a scheme or to a set of formal conditions, or the unpremeditated results of a personal calligraphy. In recent surrealism these mutilations become phenomena of nature; the structural elements of the body are bones and not merely geometrical shapes; when a figure is unbalanced, rigid, or hypertrophied, it is supported by crutches, like a real cripple, or like the excavated statues in the museums. When it is cut at a joint, we see the bleeding and raw flesh of the extremity, minutely itemized in the painting, as if actually beheld at arm's length. But these gruesome realities of physical decay and mutilation, addressed to the experience of our own bodies, are never motivated by an action and suggest no consequences; they are projected as strange spectacles, a fantastic debris cast up by the storms within the artist's mind.

The theorizing surrealists believe that to appreciate their art no cultural preparation is needed, only an intuitive spirit responsive to universal and timeless "vital constants" (sex, death, space). The artist himself does not know the meaning of his picture, but the subconscious of the spectator leaps up to greet its fellow-subconscious in the surrealist work, just as in Plato's myth the soul imprisoned in the body recognizes its spiritual compatriot in the beauty of nature. A little reflection will show that the "symbols" of the subconscious are also historical objects which must affect different persons differently, and that the peculiarity of an individual work of art can hardly be grasped through such a generalized symbolism. The bicycles—and more recently the automobiles—in Dali's pictures can be dated, and the suggestiveness and formal aspect of his symbolism presuppose a current emotionality and modern social attitudes. This is admitted by the surrealists when they attempt, with the shadiest logic, to reconcile their theory with Marxism; for their art is described then as a terrifying Gorgon's head to petrify the bourgeois subconscious. On the one hand, surrealism pretends to liberate the individual from the fettering *rationality* of bourgeois life—the family, religion, the fatherland—by revealing to him a subconscious and irrational realm of freedom; on the other hand, it avowedly reflects in the most vivid form the decay of society and prepares the spectator psychologically

for the coming revolution. But today, as these poets and painters, who have created some memorable spooks, address themselves to a wider circle, especially in England and America, which experiences an economic improvement, surrealism becomes more aesthetic and ingratiating, shedding much of the horribleness of its depression iconography; and with the imminence of war and the actual outbreak of the struggle in Spain, which poses disturbing problems to the Spanish surrealists in Paris, the imaginary mutilations appear abstract, trivial, and evasive as well as artistically petty. The consciousness of alternatives in action at once creates new standards of seriousness, and like the abstract painters the surrealists have to concern themselves with the outcome of their present work, its adequacy for a new state of mind and burden of responsibilities. The anthology of Mr. Levy closes interestingly enough with an essay by G. Bachelard virtually announcing the death of surrealism through fusion on a higher plane with "surrationalism," which includes a "surlogic" and a "surempiricism." The argument is detached from any concrete field of application, being illustrated only by references to non-Euclidian geometry. It reduces itself finally to the familiar exhortation that the life of reason should be an adventure and not a routine.

MEYER SCHAPIRO

Defense of Democracy

"WE OR THEY"—*TWO WORLDS IN CONFLICT*. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

IN THIS admirable little book the editor of *Foreign Affairs* has most effectively restated the great problem now confronting the world—whether democracy will continue to exist or whether it will be everywhere supplanted by fascism or communism. If it is true that there is little new in his presentation of the problem, he has clothed it with charm, eloquence, freshness, and vigor. The book is an earnest appeal for the preservation of our American institutions and democracy everywhere, and coming from Mr. Armstrong it should penetrate to groups that are usually not reached by appeals for the retention of the fundamentals of American life—free speech, free press, free assembly, and intellectual liberty of every kind. The author is fearlessly outspoken in his attacks upon the dictators and their methods, and he is by no means ready to give up the democratic ship. He sees clearly that democracy has weapons in its armory with which to fight back, and he realizes that unless democracy fights it will lose. For, as he points out, the dictators are sworn to destroy democracy. It is "We or They," as Mussolini put it.

"It would be disastrous," he declares, "to think that devotion to liberal standards requires us to remain on the defensive against those who frankly announce that if once they can manage to secure power they will kill the democratic system of government that gave them their chance. Fascists and Communists so proclaim and have given proof that they mean it." He too, like the Civil Liberties Union, wishes to leave them the right to state their aims and make their arguments, but he would never let them organize their power. Truthfully he remarks that the right of assembly is not the right to wear uniforms and bear arms; and he is utterly opposed to those Americans who might be tempted to cooperate politically with demagogues and embryo dictators, believing, as did some of the business men in Germany, that they can use them and then later get the upper hand over them, which will

naturally not be the case. Mr. Armstrong is wrong, however, when he says that "freedom of speech and conscience does not mean the right to advocate the abolition of free speech and freedom of conscience." It certainly does. Wendell Phillips was far more nearly right when he declared that American freedom of speech meant the right to advocate violence up to the very point of committing violence. Whoever says, "I believe in free speech, but—" drives the first nail in the coffin of liberty. Nor can I share the author's belief that we must rush into collective security; unlike myself, he favored from the start our going into the League of Nations. Norman Thomas has correctly written that Mr. Armstrong fails to realize the relationship to the problem of national economic interests.

But his statement of the case is, on the whole, quite admirable. His quotations from the dictators are as apt and forceful as those from Thomas Jefferson, and he realizes that there must be a "general mobilization" of moral opinion against the dictators if we are to be saved. He is not for a preventive war because he knows that if war comes democracy will disappear while it is going on and that the dictators will triumph in the spiritual field while being beaten physically. He regrets the weakness of British and French leadership in the League and out of it. Finally, he sees that to advance democracy we must not only preserve our liberties but adjust our organic law and our machinery to the needs and changed conditions of modern times. Altogether the book is a thrilling treatise for all whose souls are conscious of the dire emergency in which we live, and as such it should have a very wide circulation. Indeed, I should like to make it required reading by the membership of all our chambers of commerce, merchants' associations, Daughters and Sons of the Revolution, and high-school and college students everywhere.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

Embattled Tradition in Spain

BEHIND THE SPANISH BARRICADES. By John Langdon-Davies. Robert M. McBride and Company. \$2.75.

FROM the roof top upon which I sat last year writing "The Olive Field," looking up fifteen miles of the lovely Catalan coast, I could see the chapel upon the promontory of Sant Feliu de Guixols where Langdon-Davies lived. The experience which has enabled him to write this book was largely gathered in Sant Feliu. Thus it is that "Behind the Spanish Barricades" is a book of my own land. It is a song of my own land, a brave, passionate, and sensitive song, written out of truth and understanding. It is perhaps less of a war song than I should have written, yet it is strange how I, who am of the working class, have the same report to make as Langdon-Davies, who, I imagine, comes from another class.

One of the most striking things in this book is the author's understanding of the fact that today in Spain is being waged a battle of traditions, of an old and decadent myth against a new and creative myth. Elsewhere I have said that one of the most important political philosophies in Spain, and I mean anarchism, is itself religious in character. Mr. Langdon-Davies confirms this with his sustained and searching analysis of the minds of representative people whom he met during his recent visit to Spain. His book cannot fail to pose an important question: it has been claimed for the so-called Nationalists of the Franco faction (Italians, Germans, and Moors defending the soul of Spain!) that they are defending the great

Spanish tradition against the inroads of the alien barbarism of social revolution. What is the great Spanish tradition and who are defending it? Are the muleteers with their ancient songs, the peasants with their ancient field lore and their age-old aspirations, in the true Spanish tradition? Are those men, craftsmen whose hands have shaped through the centuries the things of daily need, the true defenders? When I read what Langdon-Davies reports and when I remember what I have seen in Spain during this conflict, I can only give one answer. If I search through the privacy of my own mind, using every scruple to reject all that comes from prejudice and instinctive passion, I can still only give one answer. The true Spanish tradition, the creative tradition, is in the keeping of those men who have gone out to battle, ill-armed, often literally unarmed, against the destructive machines of international fascism.

I have said that this is a courageous book. I mean that Mr. Langdon-Davies does not attempt to cover up the violence and the ugliness of civil war, or that part of its evil which has been committed by those on the people's side who, goaded to desperation, have passed beyond the limits of decorum. Churches have been burned, and it is wrong to burn churches. I myself have not burned any churches, though once I presided over a commission which had to decide which images were to be saved from the flames and which were to be burned. In the baptistry of that village church in the Pyrenees precisely one of the points which Mr. Langdon-Davies makes was made to me by an Anarchist militiaman. "This damned junk," he said and he pointed to the charred and tumbled mummery before the church, "is still *alive* in the minds of many of our people. Once perhaps, it comforted them; now it is just a lingering and shadowy fear." He told me a legend from his own town, Arenys de Mar. The people of Arenys commissioned a statue of the Virgin from a famous image maker of Palma de Mallorca. A tremendous storm arose soon after the statue-bearing ship had left Palma Bay, and not all the prayers and entreaties of the crew could secure divine help against the storm. Suddenly one of the seamen understood what had happened and rushing to the box in which the image was packed, turned it over, whereupon the storm went down. The Virgin had been laid face downward and to express her displeasure had raised the storm.

How charming, you say, a fine, dramatic medieval legend! No such thing. In Arenys the old women will tell you the date of that storm. It was 1861. Do you begin to see that there may be some truth in the Anarchist's statement; that minds whose imaginations are controlled by a culture of this type can never hope to live happily in a world which has placed new techniques and new responsibilities in people's hands?

It is not only the struggle in Catalonia and in the mines of Asturias which Mr. Langdon-Davies describes. He speaks with equal candor of what he saw in Madrid and Toledo. It is a story of simple courage and desperate faith, sometimes, too, of sad confusion and tragic blunder. I suppose my political convictions and my experiences differ from those of the author, but I can only say that to one who has spent many long years in Spain this book is wholly convincing; it rings as true as a well-made bell. Those who are hoping for propaganda, or fearing it, will be disappointed by "Behind the Spanish Barricades." It is hard to believe that any reader will finish this book without turning, in Mr. Langdon-Davies's words, "in humility to the humble folk of Spain—Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, who are groping in horror with their bare hands to save the light from flickering out."

RALPH BATES

Parnell's Career

PARNELL. By Joan Haslip. Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$3.

EVEN as recently as the summer of 1934 there was a small group of young writers in a suburb of Dublin rereading the black-bordered columns of a newspaper dated October 7, 1891. That day brought to Ireland the news of Parnell's death, and that day marked the end of one period of civil war and opened another. It has taken nearly fifty years for Ireland to exorcise the ghost of Parnell's fame and scandal; and it is doubtful even today, after many years of starvation and bloodshed, whether Ireland has yet freed itself from the choice between two evils—a leader without principles or a set of principles without a leader.

Meanwhile Joan Haslip has written a life of Parnell that has all the virtues of the best narrative technique in modern biography. And when one recalls the confusion of controversial fact and legend which surrounds the dramatic climax of Parnell's career, her work seems nothing short of extraordinary. The peculiarity of Parnell's position in the history of nineteenth-century Ireland is that he was hero and villain rolled into one. He was one of those whom Carl Russell Fish used to call "a first-rate second-rate man." Miss Haslip cleverly suggests that there was a strain of insanity in his heritage, and from then onward by the graceful art of understatement she implies that Parnell was certainly neurotic. However true all this may be, a first-rate neurotic needs no apology; Parnell's great flaw was an inability to see his position in terms other than those of personal power. He had little or no capacity for abstract thinking; it was Michael Davitt who forced him to accept the few economic principles that his plans for a united Ireland contained. As mere leader of an opposition bloc in Parliament which under his direction controlled a balance of power between Liberal and Tory, Parnell displayed a military brilliance that may be compared to the tactics of our own General Grant in the decisive battles of the Civil War. But despite his hatred of the British Empire, it is doubtful if Parnell ever understood the strength of the economic forces aligned against him, and even as a master of parliamentary strategy, because of the very forces he could not understand, his brilliance in attack became a mere foil to Gladstone's superior skill in opportunist warfare. To anyone who has read "The Education of Henry Adams" Gladstone's hypocrisy in the Parnell affair seems of one piece with his general tactics in confusing issues to his own advantage. Surely Parnell's almost superstitious fear of Gladstone seems fully justified, for as opportunist against opportunist, Parnell read his own doom in the "Old Man's" friendly gaze, and in 1890, as he was riding to his fall, he said: "I gained nothing by meeting Mr. Gladstone. I was no match for him. He got more out of me than I ever got out of him."

As Miss Haslip tells her story of Parnell's life, the incident of his adulterous intimacy with Mrs. O'Shea assumes the proportions it deserves; Miss Haslip withholds no significant detail of the affair, but it becomes increasingly clear that the O'Shea episode falls into the consistent pattern of Parnell's life. Again Parnell's behavior followed the path of individual destiny with little regard for the emotions or moral prejudices of his people: that was a responsibility he neither understood nor welcomed. Even his closest followers were ignorant of what he planned beyond the moment, and despite his personal integrity he took on the appearance of a "blind man battering blind men." To those who wish a further understanding of the political cynicism which underlies "The



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Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," as well as the later poetry of W. B. Yeats, I strongly recommend Miss Haslip's "Parnell." The shadow of the man whom Michael Davitt called "a cold-blooded sensualist" still stalks the streets of Dublin, and in the near distance one still hears the roaring of machine-guns in civil war. Even De Valera's "peace" is the peace of dictatorship in "John Bull's other island."

HORACE GREGORY

New Novels

THE SOUND OF RUNNING FEET. By Josephine Lawrence. Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$2.50.

MISS LAWRENCE writes in great detail about the ordinary lives of ordinary people. This time it is about the clerks and bosses in a none-too-successful real-estate office, each one of them plagued by the same devil—insufficient income. Money, says Miss Lawrence, is the root of all evil if you spend more than you earn, and most persons do. It is all very well for underpaid clerks to try to form a union, but the boss, in his way, is quite as hard up as his clerks are; and the twenty-five-dollar-a-week workers are not suffering much more than those who are paid twice as much. To prove her thesis Miss Lawrence is obliged to include such a litter of shiftless relatives, ill dependents, and extravagant wives as have rarely been brought together inside a book cover. And money in itself can be a dull subject when it is not a heavy, dragging one. Miss Lawrence might reread her Trollope to find out how to make it bright, fearful, and interesting. Meanwhile she has a keen eye and ear; her people are real; and their situations are often pitiful. What she needs is more variety and a touch of humor.

ROSE DEEPROSE. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

Sheila Kaye-Smith is earnest, too, but to more purpose. Her men and women are not hard black or white, wise or stupid, but have a blend of characteristics which make them seem human and credible. Rose Deeprose is by nature a farmer, by accident a wife, and as a mother a tragic and passionate failure. Her child is simple-minded; she can bear no other children. She devotes all her strength to cherishing and protecting the daughter whom her husband fears and loathes; out of very love she brings about her daughter's death. This is the material of tragedy and Miss Kaye-Smith manipulates it with considerable power. Her happy ending, however, is forced and irrelevant.

NAKED TO LAUGHTER. By Dorothy McCleary. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.

The story of two sisters who loved too well and unwisely and who were both properly jilted for frankness and overgenerosity. Ruby is hearty, energetic, and capable; Mae is a poor, sniffing clinging vine. Each of them lost a man because she wanted him too much. As in her previous novel, "Not for Heaven," Miss McCleary is lively, explicit, and persuasive. Ruby is not the equal of Ma Bostwick in the former book, who loved pansies and manure equally well. But Ruby is a nice, cheerful woman and she should have had better luck; her little millinery shop is as homely and tangible as bread. And without being a tractarian like Miss Lawrence, Miss McCleary points a neat moral: Love 'Em but Don't Tell 'Em.

CAROLINE SMITH

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Utopia Revisited

DENMARK—THE COOPERATIVE WAY. By Frederic C. Howe. Coward-McCann. \$2.50.

MR. HOWE discovered the cooperative democracy of Denmark some fifteen years ago and described it in a book entitled "Denmark—A Cooperative Commonwealth Ruled by Farmers." This book has been out of print for many years. Now, because of the current interest in co-operation, particularly in the application of the cooperative principles in the Scandinavian countries, Mr. Howe has revisited Denmark and rewritten and enlarged his original report. This time he has called the book, "Denmark—The Cooperative Way," but it still remains the story of a country ruled by farmers. Although the rural population of 1,466,000 is slightly less than half of the total, Denmark is primarily an agricultural country; it has no valuable minerals, no great factory towns; its wealth is produced on the farms. The well-being of the nation, then, depends on the well-being of the farmers. For this reason the railroads of Denmark owned or subsidized by the government are operated at an annual loss; low freight rates for farm produce are assumed to be of greater importance to the welfare of all concerned than the amassing of profits.

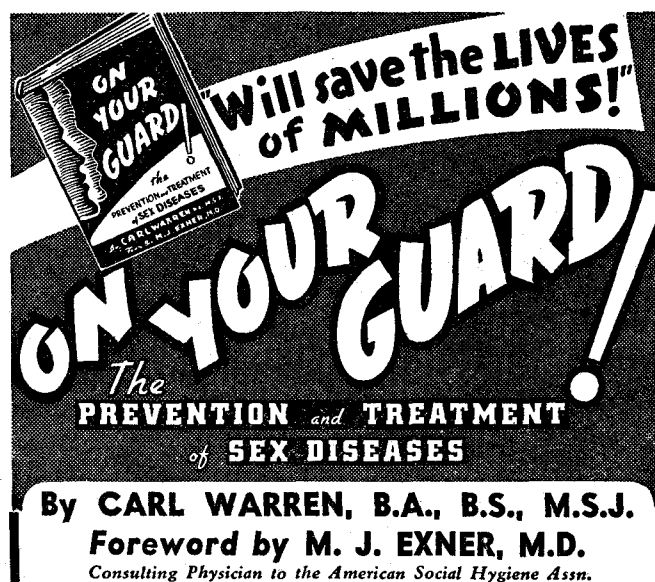
But the farmers of Denmark by no means owe their present happy state to the government. They have created their little Utopia through cooperative effort. Ninety per cent of the farmers belong to cooperatives. Through these associations they market their butter, eggs, and bacon. In 1934 Danish farmers were receiving 63 cents of each dollar spent by the consumer for farm products; American farmers were receiving 38 cents—the remainder going to the middlemen. There is no meat trust. Instead of sending animals for slaughter half-way across the country and then shipping the dressed meat back to the point of origin, as we continue to do in the United States, the Danes operate local abattoirs, which are models of efficiency. By-products are fully utilized; operating costs are low. The distribution of eggs, butter, and cheese, for which the Danes are famous, is conducted in the same manner. Quality has improved; standards and grading have been developed; the prices received for farm products have increased.

Some fifty years ago the Danish farmer was ruled by monopolists. This control was broken by the cooperatives. Here, says Mr. Howe, is a pattern for American farmers to copy. Do we seek a solution for the growing farm tenancy in America? Then consider the Danish system, where tenancy has been reduced to 5 per cent. Do we wish to make of the United States an economic as well as a political democracy? Then let us attempt to understand the way in which Denmark has solved the problem.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Howe has merely presented a sketchy outline of the Danish social-insurance plan. Particularly at this time, when there is so much interest in the subject, he should have told us more concerning such matters as the Danish "sick clubs," unemployment insurance, and pension plans.

These, however, are only a part of the social security that the happy Danes have achieved for themselves. Through producers' cooperatives they have won not only economic but political power, trust in themselves and their government. The kingdom of Denmark Mr. Howe finds to be "a justification of democracy"—and of the cooperative movement.

RUTH BRINDZE



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DRAMA

Realism and Spectacle

BUT for the Grace of God" (Guild Theater) got a very mixed press, and it is not, to tell the truth, a very good play. On several counts it is, nevertheless, so much better than most of the dramas of social protest seen here during the last few years that it hardly deserves to be singled out or made to suffer for the sins of the genre to which it belongs. Many of the critics, I fancy, have got suddenly tired of "making allowances," and this particular piece has been chosen as scapegoat. Never having been myself inclined to tenderness toward worthy efforts in this particular direction I have nothing to make up for, and I am disposed in consequence to hold with some complacency that I can speak of "But for the Grace of God" with reasonable detachment.

The author is that Leopold Atlas whose sincere if somewhat uninspired play about divorce called "Wednesday's Child" got more than it deserved of critical approval. This time he has chosen as his subject a depression-ridden family and as his chief character a younger son who is driven into fatally amateurish crime when he finds that such honest work as he is able to obtain will not supply the needs of an ailing brother. Mr. Atlas's proletarians are rather more refined in their feelings than members of that class are usually represented to be by their more ardent defenders, but I do not find them less convincing for that, and except for the violence of the climax I find the whole tale credible enough. It is also very much to Mr. Atlas's credit that he does not, except perhaps again near the end, overstate his case or labor too insistently conclusions which are obvious enough from the situations themselves. Surely I am not the only one who has often found himself perversely resisting the argument of a dramatist merely because he labored his case with exasperating insistence, and I am certain that I accepted Mr. Atlas's conclusions the more readily for the very reason that most of the time he is willing to let me formulate them for myself. He seems to know that the case is too strong to require any stacking of the cards, and I, for one, am convinced. Perhaps it is a little hard to believe that this particular young man would actually have shot down his victim as brutally as he does, but that is a relatively minor matter. Mr. Atlas is right. When society sent its policemen to arrest the murderer, it was a bit too late.

In addition it must be admitted that several of the scenes—notably one in the woodworking shop, and another in the locker room of the police station—are realized with considerable force. The fact remains, nevertheless, that, however convincing the play may be, it is also fatally pedestrian and for the most part too easy to anticipate. Nor is truth—even if it happens to be sociological truth—enough to guarantee the success of a play, and there is no use in arguing that it ought to be. The more "unpleasant" the drama, the more necessary it is to compensate the audience in some way, and the moralist or reformer must accept the fact. If he will not or cannot entertain—in the broadest sense of the term—the public will choose someone who will and can. In states where the theater, like everything else, is a monopoly, one may say to the citizen, "Take this or nothing." In democracies like our own it is difficult to do people good against their will. And I for one still prefer the democracies.

After more than a year of postponements and the expenditure of more than \$400,000 the Reinhardt-Bel Geddes spectacle called "The Eternal Road" finally opened at the Manhattan Opera House. If by this time there is anyone who does not know that the text is by Franz Werfel and the music by Kurt Weil, then press agency is a lost art; but it may come to others as the same surprise that it came to me that this spectacle which one had given up the hope of seeing turns out to be quite genuinely magnificent.

The outline of the story is simplicity itself. A company of Jews has taken refuge in the synagogue from a mob. To pass the night of terror their rabbi suggests that they should remember their past, and while he reads from a scroll, major incidents of Bible history are acted out on a vast stage above and beyond them. At the end, a messenger arrives to announce their banishment, and the forlorn procession winds out across the area until then reserved for that history of which they now have become a part. The text, as translated by Ludwig Lewisohn, has a simple dignity, but while it is not lost in the spectacle it is, of course, subordinate. There are also at least two fine performances, one by Sam Jaffe as the eternal Adversary and another by Bertha Kunz-Baker, first as Sarah and then as Naomi. But it is the spectacle to which everything else is subservient and which demonstrates again that the reputations of Reinhardt and Bel Geddes are actually based upon a great deal more than the showmanship of the circuses. For one thing the crowds are never merely crowds, and no matter how complicated the groupings may be one never loses the sense of form and organization. For another, there is inexhaustible variety; so that spectacle, which ordinarily grows so quickly monotonous, seems continuously fresh. But most important of all is the mastery of space, the placing of figures in such a way as to emphasize that plasticity which painters have discovered to be, for some mysterious reason, one of the most exciting experiences which can reach us through the eye.

In derogation I have heard it said of "The Eternal Road" that "the movies do this sort of thing better." Nothing could be wider of the mark for the simple reason that such spectacles as this have no relation whatsoever to the realistic spectacles in which the moving picture excels. Nothing could, as a matter of fact, be less realistic. The ancestor of "The Eternal Road" is the medieval mystery play, and the method is the method of convention and symbol. What we see represented is not a person or an event. It is always an idea. And the measure of the art is the adequacy of a very special iconography.

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B. B.

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RECORDS

HIGH-FIDELITY or full-range recording, as I have mentioned before, is recording that gets in the high frequencies of the overtones that add quality to the sounds of lower frequency. Recent experience has taught me that for perfect reproduction the frequency range of record and phonograph must be the same—that there is such a thing as a record being of too high fidelity for a phonograph, and vice versa. Playing the new Musicraft recording of Mozart's String Quartet in B flat, Köchel 589, made by the Perole Quartet (two records, \$2.50), I was disturbed by a shrillness in the tone of the violin. This was on a superb Scott machine employing only its chief speaker at a frequency range up to 6,000 cycles; when the machine's auxiliary speakers for high-fidelity radio reception were added, extending the frequency range beyond the 8,000 cycles of the machine's Astatic "S" crystal pick-up, not only did the tone of the violin improve, but the quality of the other strings acquired greater brightness and life. Evidently, without the auxiliary speakers the overtones of high frequency had been blocked. But the auxiliary speakers had previously been disconnected for Victor and Columbia records because of their disadvantageous effect on the tone. It therefore seemed possible that Victor and Columbia, to insure good results on normally good machines, had been keeping their records within the frequency range of such machines, but that these Musicraft records were of such high fidelity that they lost something even on a machine with a frequency range up to 6,000. And when I inquired of Musicraft I was told that the company had in fact deliberated whether to make a record adapted to the limitations of the average machine or to make the best possible record—one with the highest possible frequency range; and that it had decided for the best possible record.

The result of this decision in the case of Musicraft's records of Bach's Italian Concerto by Ralph Kirkpatrick (two records, \$3.00) is harpsichord recording of amazing and unprecedented fidelity. Wanda Landowska's recent records of Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue are superb in style of performance and superb in sound—but in a sound that is altered by recording into something different from the true sound of the harpsichord. Musicraft gives this tone sound.

I cannot report on the quality of the Musicraft surface, for I played test pressings made on a special material. Kirkpatrick's playing is excellent; and the Perole Quartet gives a finely wrought performance of Mozart's quartet, which is here recorded for the first time, and which I think more of than others seem to do. No work of Mozart's as late as this one could be entirely without the quality of the marvelous Piano Concerto in B flat, Köchel 595, recorded by Schnabel, and the weaknesses of the quartet—to paraphrase Tovey's observation about Schubert—are relaxations of its powers.

Victor's outstanding January release is its single record (\$2) of Rossini's Overture to "The Italians in Algiers" made by Arturo Toscanini with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra. On a recent Victor single (\$2) is superb playing by Horowitz, marvelously recorded, of Chopin's Mazurka Opus 50, No. 3, and Etudes Opus 10, Nos. 4 and 5. And on still another single (\$1.50) Marian Anderson wastes her talents on two songs of Sibelius: "Saf, Saf, Susa," and "Flicker Kom Ifran."

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Behind the Pan-American Front

Dear Sirs: Mr. Naft's article in *The Nation* of December 12 betrayed the lack of realism that one has come to expect in almost all discussions touching upon the acts of the Roosevelt Administration. Surely Mr. Naft has never read the correspondence and other documents bearing upon and leading up to the actual statement of the Monroe Doctrine or even Monroe's message to Congress of December 2, 1823. Otherwise he would not have said that "Roosevelt's idea of mutual protection is actually foreign to the original idea of Monroe." And he would never have said that the President's address in Buenos Aires "was a challenge against the implantation of European fascism and a warning to non-American nations to keep hands off this continent."

Mr. Naft assumes, and rests his case in the main upon this assumption, that the Americas are now open to military invasion from overseas. No conscientious military student, jealous of his good name, would lend his support to any such demonstrably absurd statement. Even in their most extravagant testimony, given before Congressional committees, the admirals and generals have never gone so far as to say flatly that this country stands in danger of invasion from abroad. They have insinuated as much, to be sure; for if that notion sinks in, military appropriations are bound to get bigger. But no admiral or general has dared to commit himself on the point.

Mr. Naft suggests, too, that Guam is needed to protect the Panama Canal. America could give Guam to Japan and the canal would have as much protection as it has today. Indeed, America will some day have to give up Guam, for that island cannot even protect itself. A better case might be made out for Hawaii, but the fact is, unfortunately, that Hawaii is being prepared for use as a base for offensive operations in the Pacific, not for defensive purposes. It is, however, in his suggestion that the submarine and airplane have made America vulnerable to attack from overseas that Mr. Naft makes his major error, for by this very suggestion he inferentially reveals that America is not open to such attack.

No territory anywhere can be conquered by submarines or airplanes. No territory anywhere can be conquered without the aid of a landing force or ground troops. And it is still a physical impossibility for any power, or combination of powers, to move across either ocean an expeditionary force large enough to make a successful landing and establish a base in the Americas. In fact, such an expedition (even if its destination were somewhere in the lower extremity of South America) would not be allowed to start unless the American fleet had first been wiped out, and if the American fleet remained in his own waters, a naval force at least twice its size would be required to wipe it out. Now if Mr. Naft had pointed to some new and revolutionary development in the shipping field that had rendered the American navy worthless and made it possible for any enemy to move a gigantic expeditionary force across three thousand miles or more of open sea, his thesis would at least have been plausible. But he chose to support his argument by pointing to two devices neither of which can possibly be regarded as a threat to American territorial integrity. With all apologies to Mr. Naft and to the press agents for certain American aviation firms, there is not in existence in any country today a single bombing plane that can fly under war conditions and with a full load of fuel and explosives a distance of three thousand miles, or even one thousand miles. Tales to the contrary are put out solely for military propaganda purposes. And even if one could fly across either ocean and bomb a target selected in advance, its mission would be pointless. The destruction it wrought would be purely wanton and would gain the enemy nothing.

Unless they have been completely misled, an assumption that cannot be credited, the governments represented at Buenos Aires know all this. They know that the purpose of that conference was not to form an American defensive alliance. They know, above all, that that is not the objective Messrs. Roosevelt and Hull have in view. Nor is "democracy" the real goal, nor yet "peace in the Americas." It is childish to speak of democracy in connection with the South American countries, when Colombia alone of these countries has anything re-

sembling a democratic government; when, as Mr. Naft himself concedes, most of these countries are governed by outright military or fascist dictatorships. No doubt the President and the Secretary of State would like to keep Latin America at peace, but it would be naive for either of them to suppose that another anti-war treaty would do the trick. After all, no less than twenty-six conventions, agreements, treaties, resolutions, and the like for the peaceful adjustment of disputes between the American states have been adopted at the various pan-American conferences since 1889.

Yet in this question of peace we come close to the heart of the matter. Peace is essential to the development and exploitation of markets. And it was to obtain a larger share of the South American market for the United States that Messrs. Roosevelt and Hull uttered high-flown phrases in Buenos Aires. They have a major goal and one or two minor objectives. With regard to the latter, they want to make sure of two things. First, they want it so arranged that when the United States gets into the coming imperialist war none of the South American republics will be found fighting on the other side. Second, they want to protect the sources of certain raw materials that America might need in that war. Meanwhile, of course, they want to see to it that, pending the entry of the United States into the next world war, the United States gets the trade that Europe and Asia must perforce abandon if the Americas, in consequence of the "new neutrality," isolate themselves at the beginning of that war.

But the major objective was to push England, Germany, and Japan out of the South American market in time of peace as well as in time of war as far as that can be done. That is the purpose, and the only purpose, of the so-called "good-neighbor" policy. It is but another example of that "peaceful economic penetration" to which modern imperialists everywhere are turning—so long as peace serves their purposes. If Mr. Roosevelt can persuade the South American countries that the United States has mended its ways, ought not these countries to reciprocate by buying more American goods? That at least is what they are expected to do.

But this does not mean that the United

States has renounced its "right" to intervene. It has renounced nothing. It will have the "right" to intervene so long as it possesses the power to do so. The very fact that it is maintaining armed forces far larger than it needs for genuine self-defense reveals that in the last analysis it intends to depend upon its armed strength in any matter involving its self-interest, or "national interest," whether in South America or elsewhere.

Behind the pan-American front? Peace? Democracy? Not at all. It is just the old American imperialism in a new false-face. And when it comes to a showdown the results will be no different from what they have been in the past.

MAURITZ A. HALLGREN

Glenwood, Md., December 13

Free Speech in Ireland

Dear Sirs: While in Dublin recently I discovered that Sean O'Faolain, author of "A Nest of Simple Folk," "The Life Story of Eamon de Valera," and other works, was being detained in Drogheda jail for daring to speak in behalf of imprisoned Irishmen who had republican sentiments. No public charge has, so far as I am aware, been preferred against Mr. O'Faolain; neither has this most gifted of the younger Irish writers been given any trial. When I left the country

he was still in jail, having been arrested on November 29.

The news account that appeared in Mr. de Valera's newspaper, the *Irish Press*, on November 30 was a typical example of evasion and censorship such as is found in countries under dictators, and would leave the outside world totally ignorant of Mr. O'Faolain's continued imprisonment. It said:

A baton charge followed the arrest of one of the speakers at a meeting held at the Tholsel, Drogheda, last night. The meeting, which was addressed by speakers from Dublin, Dundalk, and Drogheda, was held "to protest against the detention of local republican prisoners." When it concluded and those in attendance were dispersing, one of the speakers whose name was announced as "O'Faolain" was apprehended at West Street and hustled into a waiting motor car by detectives and Gardai. . . .

I need hardly remind your readers that President de Valera, who today heads the Irish government and is responsible for this state of affairs, was himself a republican who actually took up arms not only against the British government (1916) but also against fellow-Irishmen (the Civil War) who did not see the republic from his point of view.

It is my sincere hope that the publication of this letter will lead to the forwarding of protests to the Irish government against the unjustified treatment being meted out today to such men as Mr. O'Faolain, for whose writings and opinions one must have the highest respect.

JOHN O'HARA HARTE
Philadelphia, January 6

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